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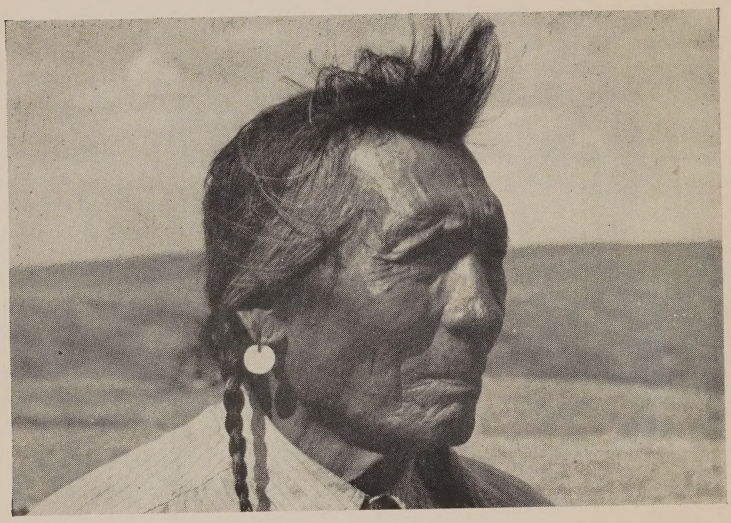
CHANGING CONFIGURATIONS IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A BLACKFOOT TRIBE DURING THE RESERVE PERIOD



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VIII

ESTHER S. GOLDFRANK

CHANGING CONFIGURATIONS IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF A BLACKFOOT TRIBE DURING THE RESERVE PERIOD

(The Blood of Alberta, Canada)

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Preface

The material for this paper was obtained on the Blood Reserve during the summer of 1939 in conjunction with the Columbia University Anthropological Field Laboratory. My particular thanks are due the director, Prof. Ruth Benedict, who invited me to join her students in what was, for most of them, a first visit to a primitive tribe. Work was done on all four Blackfoot reservations by different members of the party, and it was the original plan to publish the several studies in one volume. Since the war has forced the abandonment of this project, the following monograph is submitted in the hope that the others will soon appear.

My thanks are also due Miss Marjorie Lismer and Mr. Harry D. Biele, my co-workers on the Blood Reserve, who generously permitted me to consult their field notes and quote from them. In addition, Mr. Biele has contributed the photographs appearing in this publication. Miss Rae Walowitz (South Piegan), Dr. Oscar Lewis (North Piegan), Dr. Jane Richardson and Dr. Lucien M. Hanks, Jr. (North Blackfoot) have given me helpful criticism from their comparable experiences. The Canadian Government welcomed our cooperative effort, and Mr. John Pugh, the agent on the reserve for more than ten years, assisted us in innumerable ways. Our Indian friends gave eagerly and faithfully of their time and knowledge.

The late John Galen Carter of Washington, D. C. placed at our disposal certain historical records concerned with the legal affairs of the Montana Blackfoot, and Dr. Clark Wissler illuminated many aspects of Blackfoot culture in conversations at the American Museum of Natural History. Dr. Ruth Benedict and Dr. Ralph Linton read the first draft of this paper, Dr. Marian W. Smith and Dr. A. Irving Hallowell, the last. All made valuable suggestions regarding form and content.

In conclusion, I wish to thank my husband, Dr. K. A. Wittfogel, who patiently discussed problems of method and material for which there were parallels in his recent field of interest, the sociology of Inner Asiatic pastoralism.

Esther S. Goldfrank.

New York, N. Y.
April, 1944.

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I. Introduction

Problems examined in the field depend upon the special interests of the investigator and what has been disclosed by the work of others. The Columbia Laboratory, in the summer of 1939, was concerned primarily with an analysis of Blackfoot adaptation to a reserve situation. The study promised to be of considerable significance since these Indians of very similar background had been confined for more than half a century to four separate reservations (three in Alberta, Canada, and one in the United States) which even after a cursory survey revealed numerous and basic differences in ecology, climate, and official program.

The greatest latitude was permitted by the director to each collaborator regarding field and method of inquiry. My own attention was focused on changes in social organization and the effect of new patterns on the individual and the group. Such selectivity seemed justifiable in view of the considerable body of data on Blackfoot material culture, mythology, social and ceremonial organization, collected in the main by Dr. Clark Wissler.[1] His full descriptive accounts of societies and bundles made it unnecessary, except in a few instances, to accumulate details regarding paraphernalia or ritual procedures.

In the field, investigation offered few difficulties other than those of time and space. But these were of no small moment. The Blood Reserve is the largest in Canada, and the nine weeks spent there were not enough in which to ask, much less answer, the many questions that came to mind. The ten days at the Sun Dance, while seriously cutting into our time for intensive work with informants, mitigated the problems of distance. But more importantly on the positive side, they offered us an unusual opportunity to observe the group as a whole, to make contacts that would have been impossible from our comfortable but rather isolated dwelling—in fact, to see the tribe in action during its great summer ceremonial.

It was, however, the easy personal accessibility of these people of the Plains—in contrast to the reticent and formal Pueblos—that made inquiry rewarding despite the shortness of our stay. No overwhelming fear of black magic or priestly authority erected an insurmountable wall between us. A natural reserve there was, and considerations of respect made it imperative

[1] Particularly, Clark Wissler and D. C. Duvall, *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians;* Wissler: *Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians; The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians; The Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians; Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians; The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians.*

at times to withhold information; but in most areas of investigation, data were frankly and evenly eagerly given.

Interviews were held with some dozen informants, male and female, old and young. Extended personal histories were obtained from two men in their fifties, one a favorite son of a chief, the other a half-breed and one-time successful farmer. Their lives stretched over the better part of the reserve period, and their different backgrounds strikingly illuminated problems of status and mobility.

But the full import of the material collected in the field became clear only after it was analyzed in the light of the historical records, more particularly in the light of the reports issued annually by the Canadian Government. Only then were the numerous changes in official policy revealed; only then could the complex relationships within the present situation be understood.

Historical evidence, in recent years, has been treated somewhat cavalierly by anthropologists. Yet our dependence on historical sources for checking and correcting direct observation is becoming increasingly apparent. On the archeological level, excavations in the North American Plains completely reversed ethnological opinion at certain points;[2] on the documentary level, studies such as M. Hodgen's have conspicuously exposed fallacious theoretical conclusions.[3] In every analysis of the acculturation process, history has been the key to an understanding of past changes in social structure.[4] The present work among the Blood offers no exception.

Formal systems of kinship were obtained from two informants and an extended genealogy from one, but the eight days that were given up to recording and checking terminology were inadequate to the complicated task. The greatest inconsistencies developed, not only between the stereotypes, but within each of them. Factors of age (both in relation to ego and ego's parents), the sororate and levirate, and differences in certain categories according to the sex of the speaker operated in both protocols, but from the limited data, it was impossible either to formulate the earlier stereotypes or, since the system was in transition, to define clearly the trends of change. Since a formal statement of Blood kinship cannot be made at this time, it is particularly fortunate that a comprehensive discussion of North Blackfoot kinship by Dr. Jane Richardson and her husband, Dr. Lucien M. Hanks, Jr., is included in this volume.

No absolute identity can be assumed for the Blood and North Blackfoot systems in pre-reserve days, for no satisfactory material from either tribe

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[2] Wm. Duncan Strong, *From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains*, pp. 375, 391.

[3] Margaret T. Hodgen, *Geographical Diffusion as a Criterion of Age*, pp. 345–369.

[4] Of special interest in this connection is Oscar Lewis's *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*.

has been recorded. But it is evident from the data at hand that the similarities were great and the differences superficial. If a general equivalence in the earlier systems is tentatively accepted, present data for the Blood indicate deviational tendencies not unlike those exhibited by the North Blackfoot. It would seem that the abolition of polygamy and the consequent weakening of the sororate have been largely responsible for recent changes in kinship organization in both tribes. However, behavior patterns on the two reserves still show certain marked differences. They reflect not only changes in kinship organization, but the total historical experience of each group.

In this monograph, Blackfoot, and more specifically Blood society, is designated as competitive. The mixed nature of all societies is obvious, and where classification depends on the weighing of numerous complex factors, correct descriptive categories are frequently difficult to determine. The Pueblo masses may show a high degree of cooperation in their agricultural activities, but such statements as Benavides' regarding the continual factional strife between "warriors and sorcerers,"[5] even if exaggerated as some anthropologists believe, serve to explain, at least in part, the recent struggles for power within the priesthoods at Cochiti, Isleta, and Santa Ana.[6] In our own society, great insistence is placed on teamwork in the industrial plant and in the fighting machine, but there can be little doubt that most of our efforts are directed toward "seeking and endeavoring to gain what another is endeavoring to gain at the same time."[7]

For some, the situation among the Blood may seem less transparent, but close study of the facts reveals predominantly competitive trends. In the pre-reserve period, hunting the buffalo demanded a high degree of cooperation, but skins were variously and by no means equitably distributed. In warfare, competition was flagrant, rivalrous attitudes overtly and blatantly expressed. In the reserve period, economic change was comparatively frequent and radical. The distribution of land and cattle in 1877 for the asking, and of land again in 1910 and for several years thereafter, changed the quality of competition.[8] But during these sixty years, as in the preceding decades, goals remained competitive, behavior individualistic, hostility overt. In the new administrative situation, the Blood preserved, perhaps

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[5] *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*, p. 30 ff.

[6] Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, for Cochiti, note Vol. 1, p. 168, for Isleta, note Vol. 2, p. 926; for Santa Ana, see Leslie A. White, *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico*, pp. 95, 115 ff.

[7] Margaret Mead, *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, Introduction, p. 8.

[8] For a better understanding of the various factors involved in evaluating competitive trends, I am particularly indebted to Dr. K. A. Wittfogel.

most completely, those mechanisms of aggression that characterized the Blackfoot tribes in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

II. Blackfoot Economy and Interpersonal Relations in the Buffalo Period

Buffalo Hunters and Horse Raiders

The Blood, Piegan, and Siksika[9] comprise the Blackfoot complex. In no sense were they a confederation,[10] but they all spoke an Algonquian language and admitted ties of blood.[11] They received their first horses from the Shoshone around 1730,[12] and at about this same time their firearms from the Cree.[13] As early as 1750, they were on the prairies, east of the foothills of the Rockies from the upper branches of the Missouri River to the North Saskatchewan.[14] In 1754, when Hendry, the first white man to visit them, tried to induce their warriors to follow him eastward and hunt the beaver, they showed little inclination to leave their buffalo plains for uncertain woodlands and the trading posts of the fur companies.[15] Nineteen years later, Cocking was equally unsuccessful.[16] By the end of the century, however, the centers of trade had closed in upon the Blackfoot country, and the Blackfoot tribes came into direct contact with these outposts of white civilization.

The Blackfoot were buffalo hunters and horse raiders. They traveled in bands, loose organizations varying in size, whose members were frequently close relatives,[17] but whose essential purposes were economic and political.[18] One informant has said, "A man may go into another band and live there if he choose, nothing much being said about it. Sometimes a man may not like the chief of his band and so go to another. . . . . Bands may split in dissension, one part joining another or forming a new one."[19] In winter, the bands

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[9] The Piegan are now divided into Northern and Southern Piegan. The Siksika are otherwise known as the Northern Blackfoot. The tribes are confined to four reservations, one in the United States (Montana), the others in Alberta, Canada.

[10] Clark Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, p. 22. Cf. also Oscar Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 59, who argues that the Blackfoot "in pre-horse times. . .at least for war purposes. . .were unified under a central leader."

[11] Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, p. 7.

[12] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 11.

[13] *Idem.*

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 14 and map on p. 13.

[15] Anthony Hendry, *York Factory to the Blackfoot Country, the Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754–55*, p. 338. (See also Henday.)

[16] Matthew Cocking, *Matthew Cocking's Journal, 1772–1773*, p. 110.

[17] Wissler, *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 18, 19, 26.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[19] *Ibid.*, footnote p. 19.

scattered because of the limited food supply;[20] in summer, they "tended to collect and move about, both for trade and for the hunt."[21] Band endogamy was "not good form but not criminal."[22] Residence, in general, was patrilocal,[23] the young couple setting up their tipi alongside the groom's father's. It was not unusual, however, for a man to join his wife's band upon marriage.[24]

Equally significant in Blackfoot social organization were the men's societies[25] which had "certain names, fixed rules and laws, as well as their peculiar songs and dances" and which served "in part to preserve order in the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties."[26] As early as the 1830's, seven such "unions" were noted, their members usually joining the youngest and gradually rising higher through the others.[27] Entrance depended upon the payment of a fee, a medicine man and persons of distinction buying in at greater cost.[28]

These nomads, or "equestrian natives" as Cocking called them,[29] were particularly favored by circumstance. Their country was well stocked with the buffalo upon which they depended for food, shelter, and clothing; their early possession of the horse and the gun, and their comparative freedom from white pressure gave ample opportunity for effective hunting and substantial profit from an expanding fur trade. This profit was measured in horses. Not only did the horse become their most valued possession, but among them, as elsewhere on the Northern Plains, it formed the chief medium of exchange. Everything—trade goods, bride price, ceremonial privilege, and often personal support—was acquired by the payment of horses. In most instances, the loss of capital was only temporary: medicine bundles, pipes, and society memberships were actually investments[30] that could be resold, sometimes even at a profit, and distributions to maintain prestige were, in effect, convenient forms of credit. Expectancy is succinctly expressed in the oft-heard comment, "If a Blood gives a horse away one day,

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[21] *Idem.*

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[25] This is the term Wissler uses (See Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, Table of Contents, p. 363.)

[26] Maximilian, Prince of Weid-Neuweid, *Travels in the Interior of North America in the years of 1832–1833 and 1834*, p. 255.

[27] *Idem.*

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[29] Cocking, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Cf. also p. 111, for a statement on their more favorable situation.

[30] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 277. Cf. also Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ff.

he expects another in a week." In time of need loyal followers would quickly rally to the aid of their "generous leader."[31]

Technical skill and bravery played an essential role both in hunting and raiding, but a wealth differential that could not be said to depend entirely on these virtues was early apparent. In 1808, Alexander Henry, the nephew, wrote, "Some Blackfoot own 40 to 50 horses. But the Piegans have by far the greatest number. I heard of one man who had 300."[32] Two years later, he mentions "one young Piegan who complains of being lame and has no horse."[33] In 1832 Maximilian noted that a Piegan chief possessed between 4000 and 5000 horses.[34] At another point he writes, "There were fifteen to twenty horses grazing about the tent, but there are Blackfoot who possess a much greater number."[35] Bradley estimates that around the year 1830 the Piegans averaged ten horses to a lodge, the Blackfeet and Bloods, five.[36] Of the Blood chief, Seen from Afar, who died in 1870, he says, "He was the greatest chief Major Culbertson ever saw amongst the Blackfeet—having ten wives and 100 horses."[37] Charles Larpenteur, a fur trader, writing of the period around 1860 states, "It is a fine sight to see one of those big men among the Blackfeet, who has two or three lodges, five or six wives, twenty or thirty children, and fifty to one hundred horses."[38] Such famous headmen as Crowfoot boasted more than a hundred horses and "hired" poor young men to hunt and raid for them.[39] In the light of the combined evidence, the excessive figure given by Maximilian must be questioned, as has been done recently and effectively.[40] But the fact that marked wealth differences persisted throughout this period seems well substantiated.

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[31] Although occurring in 1893, i.e., in the Reserve period, the following is suggestive: Eagle Bear, a chief, lost thirty-five of his sixty horses in a blinding snowstorm. "His friends felt sorry for him and made him presents, for he always had been considered a generous man. In the end he had received more than he had lost."

[32] Alexander Henry and David Thompson, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest. The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799–1814.* Vol. 2, p. 526.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 661.

[34] Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

[36] James H. Bradley, *Characteristics, Habits and Customs of the Blackfeet Indians*, p. 288.

[37] Bradley, *Affairs at Fort Benton*, p. 258.

[38] Charles Larpenteur, *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri*, Vol. 2, p. 401.

[39] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 55 note, quoting Jane Richardson, Northern Blackfoot, Mss.

[40] John C. Ewer, *Were the Blackfoot Rich in Horses?* p. 622 ff. It is however, more than possible that Maximilian's figure, though obviously exaggerated, may actually refer to band horses. Such an easy confusion is expressed even today. In 1939, the son of a chief stated that his father owned 1000 horses. Later he referred to these horses as "band" horses. While discussing the bad winter of 1893, he said, "My

Achieving Prestige

Inevitably, the activities of the man without horses or with only a few were limited. While his personal bravery might be unquestioned, the poor man could not hope to organize or direct a war party—the chief road to social recognition—for no man of greater wealth would submit to his leadership.[41] Eager to participate in a hunt or raid but lacking a fast horse, he was forced to borrow from a wealthy patron, sometimes handing over as much as one-half the game killed or one-half the loot captured. To be sure, the man who attained years of discretion and still possessed no horse must have been strikingly deficient in initiative or ability or both, but a poor boy, even when he was well endowed with these admirable qualities, might never become a man of substantial wealth or a leader in the community.

There is no doubt that, as Mr. Duvall claims, "poor young men have gone on the warpath, captured horses, bought fine clothes, and medicine bundles and become leaders among the people,"[42] but they had to overcome many obstacles that the sons of rich men never had to face. These favored youths, who expected their fathers' poor followers to supply the household with the necessary food and skins, could participate more frequently in the rewarding war parties and win prestige while still comparatively young.[43] The sons of the very rich might even spurn this activity. Beautifully clothed, continually honored by their parents with expensive purchases of privilege, and assured of their bride price, these *minipoka*, or "children of plenty" as Uhlenbeck translates the term,[44] were urged to shun the warpath altogether. The exhortations of their fathers could not have differed much from that of the Cree who said, "Here, my son, dress yourself. This is no way to be. I never bid you go to the scenes I need not name; I love you too much. Poor men are they who go on the warpath, (note well!) for they hope to steal horses; but you, your horse is handsome; he is fleet of foot. And you yourself are handsome; you are not poor. . . ."[45] Such advice was often rejected[46] but some "dandies," contrary to the manly ideal asserted in their society, were content to remain at home. J. H. Bradley observes, "Not in-

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father had sixty horses." At another time he observed that his father had "turned over his whole herd of horses to me (about 100)" at the time of his marriage in 1905. This last figure is conventionally given to the question, "How many horses would a rich man own?" (For corroboration, see Ewer, *Ibid.*).

[41] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[42] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 289.

[43] Bernard Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Indians*, p. 47.

[44] C. C. Uhlenbeck and R. H. van Gulik, *A Blackfoot-English Vocabulary*, p. 226.

[45] Leonard Bloomfield, *Cree Texts*, p. 63 ff.

[46] Most spectacularly by Owl Boy, the valiant son of Mountain Chief (S. Piegan). The Blood tell of no such hero. Wissler (*Social Life*, p. 30) claims that despite such urgings the young man always went on the warpath, but his own further statement would seem to belie this. (See text p. 8 and footnote 48.)

frequently . . . they [the young men] are great drones, lounging in the village, participating neither in the war nor the chase. . . . "[47] Obviously, these "drones" trusted to their fathers' wealth to bring them positions of respect—and this trust was not misplaced. Bravery and war deeds remained an asset to leadership, but among the Blackfoot, "great deeds in social and ceremonial life would alone elevate one to the status of headman."[48]

Blackfoot society offered considerable opportunity for vertical mobility. Disease, accidents of climate, misfortunes of gambling might reduce and, at times, even wipe out large herds, but the mere fact that great numbers of horses could be accumulated and held for a considerable period led to certain advantage. Manipulation through purchase, give-aways, and other forms of ostentatious display in no way destroyed this advantage. Shrewdly exercised, they built up great prestige and reliable support.[49]

Rivalry and Violence

Cooperative mechanisms, emphasizing interpersonal responsibilities both within the family and within the larger social group (band and men's societies) counteracted to some degree the competitive trends, but these trends continued nevertheless to dominate Blackfoot life. Rivalry for recognition and power was so keen that it "often led to assassination and other dark deeds."[50] As early as 1808, Alexander Henry notes with considerable feeling the difficulties of the traders in dealing with the Blackfoot, but he leaves no doubt that within the tribes, Blackfoot behavior was equally unpredictable and destructive to peaceful relations. Regarding the Piegan, he wrote:

> They have frequent quarrels which may end in bloodshed or death; for though they are lavish in offering their women to the whites. . .they are exceedingly jealous among themselves. These quarrels, however, seldom last long, nor do they affect the whole tribe; the woman being killed, reconciliation is immediate and all are friends again.[51]

Other Blackfoot tribes were certainly no better:

> The Cold Band are notoriously a set of audacious villains. The Blood are still worse, always inclined to mischief and murder.[52]

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[47] Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272. Bradley commenced writing down his impressions in 1871 when he was stationed at frontier army posts, most particularly Fort Benton and Fort Shaw, and continued to do so until his death in 1877. (*Ibid.*, p. 7.)

[48] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 23. It is possible that this was a development of the late buffalo period.

[49] *Idem.*

[50] *Idem.*

[51] Alexander Henry and David Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 722. Cf. also Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[52] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

Later he comments:

> The Bloods in general bear fully as bad a reputation as the Fall Indians [atsina] they are equally vicious, bloodthirsty, and turbulent, but, I believe, not so brave.[53]

In still another passage he writes:

> The Slaves[54]. . .are much given to gusts of passion; a mere trifle irritates them and makes a commotion which a stranger would suppose must result in bloodshed. But the matter is soon adjusted, and their passion quickly subsides.[55]

In 1832, Maximilian wrote of these irascible people:

> . . .they are said. . .to be more passionate than other nations. Duels sometimes take place and vengeance is executed in most cases. If an Indian is killed his relations avenge themselves, if possible, on the murderer, but if they have no opportunity to do this, they take revenge on the first member of his family they meet with; often, however, their vengeance is bought off with some articles of value.[56]

James H. Bradley, whose closest contacts with the Blackfoot occurred after Baker's massacre in January 1870,[57] writes more temperately of them:

> In character they were good-humored, candid and truthful, honest among themselves but less so with strangers, talkative, fond of story-telling, easily excited to laughter, less inclined to conceal the emotions than most Indians, friendly to their fellows, and affectionate to their wives and children.[58]

But some few paragraphs later he also comments on their severe punishment of adultery[59] and on the devastating feuds that might follow a murder, "even if it could be shown that the killing were ever so accidental.[60]

So noticeable was their emotional instability, that a member of another Indian tribe, the Cree, stated in a recently published text, "This was another of the Blackfoot's ways,—that he changed his mind exceedingly fast, when but now he had been angry."[61]

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[53] *Ibid.*, p. 736.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 523. In a footnote, the editor comments, "In so considering them, Henry uses 'Slave' in an unusual sense, which however, may be attached to the Blackfeet, Bloods, and Piegans in his time. The Slaves properly so called belong to an entirely different linguistic family, namely, the Athapascan, and to the Northern group or division of that stock."

[55] *Idem.*

[56] Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[57] Bradley, *Blackfoot War with the Whites*, p. 254.

[58] Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 270.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[61] Bloomfield, *Cree Texts*, p. 139.

Two records from Henry's Journal illustrate Blackfoot violence and aggressiveness:

They (Blood) informed us of a quarrel between Painted Feathers band and the Cold band caused by a woman who had been debauched by the latter. . .four of the party were wounded, and the woman shot in the leg.[62]

He [a Blackfoot] was a notorious scoundrel, who had murdered three of his own countrymen.[63]

And some twenty years later, Maximilian learns from an Indian whom he meets:

. . .that an Indian had run away with his sister, the wife of a third person, and they had ridden out to look for him in order to shoot him.[64]

And in another passage, he states:

He (White Buffalo) had lately shot his sister, because she kept up an intercourse with a man against whom he had advised her. A chief of the Blackfeet with whom he had a quarrel shot him through the thigh; he, however, did not lose his presence of mind, and killed his enemy, notwithstanding his wound.[65]

The remaining cases, taken from winter counts and recent anthropological field notes, deal specifically with the subjects of this paper, "the vicious . . . and turbulent" Blood:

South of the Missouri, the Blood fought among themselves. . . .[66]

In the summer the Blood camped at Yellow Mountains and fought among themselves. Calf Shirt killed some of his own men.[67]

Two Blood chiefs who had trouble with one another, killed each other, Hind Bull and Fish Child.[68]

Shot Bull Back Fat, a Blood, killed another Blood, Eagle Tail Feather Chief.[69]

Big Snake was the Chief of Many-Children Band. He had many wives and children and the strong men in his band were envious of him. Mad Wolf tried to kill him.

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[62] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 572.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 543.
[64] Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 268.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[66] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 46. From Elk Horn's winter count, some time around the year 1855.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 49. From Big Brave's winter count, presumably a few years later.
[68] From the winter count of Percy Creighton, for the year 1859.
[69] *Ibid.*, for the year 1868.

A chief of the Followers-of-the-Buffalo Band gave Big Snake a fast buffalo horse and in return Big Snake presented him with a fine weasel tail suit. The Buffalo chief soon regretted his generosity and wished to recover his gift. Accompanied by his father, he entered Big Snake's tipi and demanded his horse. Big Snake shot and killed him. The father ran from the tipi. "No one tried to avenge his death because Big Snake was much stronger."

Many Pinto Horses, his brother, Packs His Tail, and Buffalo Chief were all handsome and wealthy. Buffalo Chief and Many Pinto Horses were drinking and quarreling. Each told of the grudge he bore the other. "Afterwards Buffalo Chief didn't feel good and moved off."

Some members in the Many-Children Band were envious of Packs His Tail because he was rich. One day, he visited their camp, and after considerable drinking on both sides, they took away his gun and killed him. When his brother, Many Pinto Horses, came to avenge his death the Many-Children shot him, too.

The following are tales of feuding within the family of the wealthy and famous Blood chief, Red Crow, who signed the treaty in 1877 which established his tribe on its reserve:

When Red Crow was appointed head chief in 1877, his older brother, Sheep Old Man was greatly angered. He left his band and joined the Followers-of-the-Buffalo where he also had friends and relatives.

Sheep Old Man, his sister, Revenge Walker, and her husband, Running Bird, were camping with their followers at Calgary. Red Crow came in with some of his supporters. Two relatives, Many Dust, a band chief of the Hairy-Shirts, and Owns Center Painted Tipi, accused him of keeping property that rightfully belonged to his sister, Revenge Walker. The unwelcome visitors were ejected from his tipi, and Revenge Walker, unable to persuade her husband to accompany her—in fact he forthwith left her—went alone to her brother's tipi to demand her property. When Red Crow saw her approaching, he ran off. Revenge Walker consoled herself by killing some of his horses. Sheep Old Man then said, "Now we will have trouble. We had better move our tipis away from our relatives."

At another time, Sheep Old Man, while drunk, shot his younger brother, Not Real Good, in the shoulder. Their sister, Revenge Walker, was so angered that she wanted to kill Sheep Old Man. As dawn came, Not Real Good, said, "Older sister, you have had trouble with our brother, Red Crow. Now you are having trouble with Sheep Old Man, our brother, also. Only you and I are together. We have other brothers but they may not like us because we have been having trouble with Red Crow and Sheep Old Man. They may stick to them. Running Bird, your husband, has left because of your quarrels. Marry the white trader. He may have good medicine and then I may get well. His sister answered, "I do not want to see you die. I will do as you advise, although I do not like to marry a white man. But then I might get even with Red Crow when he comes to trade." So she married Davis, the trader.

When Red Crow heard that his sister had married, he brought some fine tanned dresses, shirts and twenty horses to her as a gift. He greeted his sister and asked her forgiveness. Revenge Walker said, "I was going to kill you, but I think so much of

our younger brother, Not Real Good, that I will do as he asks. But don't let things like this happen again. If they should, although I am a woman, I will do as I wish.

A last story is taken from Biele's notes:

One night two brothers, relatives of Red Crow, visited him in his tipi. The chief was smoking and after his guests were seated, one on either side of him, he offered his pipe, the customary gesture of hospitality. The first brother refused to smoke. Signifying his anger, he pointed the stem at Red Crow. The other brother then rose, took aim and fired at the chief. The bullet missed him but hit his wife, Water Bird, in the shoulder. Red Crow then shot and killed his assailant while the second brother, though wounded, escaped into the darkness.

"Everyone," comments Henry, "that has lived a wicked life on earth, committed murder in his own nation, or been guilty of suicide, must pass by a different route to the Elysian fields."[70] But neither certainty of an uneasy immortality, nor cooperative mechanisms, nor informal pressures succeeded in outlawing intratribal killing among the competitive and violent Blood in the Buffalo days.[71] Nor did sixty years' confinement on a reservation, nor the threat of the white man's law fundamentally alter the personality structure developed in that early period.

III. Blood Economy and Social Change in the Reserve Period*

Two vital factors acted upon Blood society simultaneously. In 1877, Treaty No. 7 was signed with the Blackfoot tribes in Canada restricting them to a reserve, and in 1878, the winter count of a Blood reads, "This was the year the buffalo went out of sight."[72]

Both the Blood and the Canadian Government were fortunate in the

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[70] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

[71] Ruth Benedict in discussing Jules Henry's paper, *Some Cultural Determinants of Hostility in Pilaga Indian Children*, p. 120) writes: "The indication of cross-cultural studies is that minimal interpersonal hostility also is correlated with certain cultural institutions, political and economic, as well as forms of the family and methods of child rearing." Comparatively, for external threat as a cooperative mechanism, see Esther S. Goldfrank, *Historic Change and Social Character, a Study of Teton Dakota*, p. 78 ff., for informal pressures, see Karl L. Llewellyn and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way*, Chapter 9.

* The years given in the footnotes in this section refer to the *Annual Reports on Indian Affairs* contained in the *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*. From 1873–1880, these are listed under the Department of the Interior; later reports were issued by the Department of Indian Affairs. From 1930 on, they appear separately.

All names used in this monograph, except those from published sources are fictitious.

[72] Percy Creighton's winter count.

coincidence of these two factors. The disappearance of the herds may well account for the amenability of the "most warlike and haughty" Blood in accepting reserve life, for almost over-night, and with no preparation on their part, they had gone from an economy of plenty to complete destitution. Insistence on hunting privileges would have made little sense when the prairies were empty of game. White officials, only, gave assurance of benevolent aid, inadequate and undependable though it might be. In the face of starvation there was no choice. The Blood gratefully accepted government rations.

In spite of the expense of feeding and clothing these destitute Indians, Her Majesty's Government gained also. Large tracts of land reverted to the Crown and could be thrown open to white settlers. The marauders who might have threatened them were now safely held within the limits of their reservation.

In 1877, the Blood numbered about 1500 persons. Their reserve is still the largest in Canada. Situated between the Belly and St. Mary's rivers in Alberta, and running in a southerly direction from the forks of these streams for about forty miles to within fourteen miles of the International Boundary, it covers 540 square miles or 354,000 acres of splendid grazing land.[73] Few of the original acres have been sold off, and leases to whites have been made for a limited time only—and then for a small fraction of the land. The fortunate location of the reservation, its considerable size and fertile soil have made possible the success of the more recent government programs.

The abandonment of hunting and raiding, freely enjoyed, and the acceptance of a sedentary existence within a restricted area, was certainly the greatest, but by no means the last, change in the life of the Blood. The Canadian Indian Department was primarily interested in making its wards self-supporting, and to that end, it experimented at various times, notably in 1877 when Treaty No. 7 was signed, again in 1894, and finally in 1910. In implementing its policies, it had no compunctions about destroying any part of the old Blood culture which conflicted with its own administrative aims or ethical standards. From its point of view, it was necessary for these Indians to give up their nomadic habits, to live in houses instead of tipis, to practise monogamy, to stop raiding, to farm or herd rather than hunt. External conformity with these new ways was enough. The Government did not enquire into the effects of its policies on those patterns of tribal life that did not immediately affect the success of its programs. In all probability, despite the fact that the Blood were fortunate in having a number of unusually interested and sympathetic agents, the Government failed to

[73] 1909, Vol. 43, No. 15, p. 167.

realize how radically its programs altered the whole fabric of the older society.

Certain tribes, such as the Teton Dakota or the Kiowa, once placed upon a reserve seem to have been little disturbed either by accident or official design. The former enjoyed a continuing equality in an economy of scarcity;[74] the latter, a social hierarchy fixed by inherited horse wealth.[75] Compared with these more or less static societies, the Blood offer an exceptional opportunity for analytic examination. Within a short sixty years of reserve life, economic change has been surprisingly frequent. Its influence on the structure of Blood society and the status of the individual in it, has been marked.

1877–1894

The Blood took the government rations but they did not accept the recommended way of life. The Treaty of 1877 provided farm land, necessary seeds and implements for any Indian ready to farm.[76] Those who preferred to herd received cattle: two cows were given to a family of five; three cows to a family of five to ten; and four cows to a family of more than ten. For those who wanted to till the soil and also raise stock, a compromise arrangement was arrived at.[77]

But oats, barley, potatoes, and spring wheat did not thrive on these northern plains. The growing season was short, the frosts early, the hazards of drought and grasshoppers made the returns most uncertain. By 1884, 1500 Blood cultivated only 275 acres, and much of the labor was supplied by white farmers employed by the Government.[78]

Cattle herding fared no better. It, too, was far removed from the adventurous and rewarding experience of the past. Except for a few desirable hunting strains, the breeding of horses had been a matter of accident—number not quality was important for most of the trading was done in unbroken animals. The onerous duties involved in caring for one, two, or three cows held little attraction. Increase was slow, and the Government frowned upon any change in ownership. The horse remained, as it had been for more than a century, the most desired possession of the Blood, their symbol of wealth, their medium of exchange.

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[74] Esther S. Goldfrank, *Historic Change and Social Character*, p. 81 ff.

[75] The Kiowa, like the Blood, were permitted to retain their unequally distributed horse herds. B. Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare*, p. 53, writes, "The rank held by Kiowa families at the end of the last century has become the fixed hereditary status of the descendants."

[76] 1878, Vol. 8, No. 10, p. xv ff.; also Appendix C, xxxiv ff.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. xlvi.

[78] 1884, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. iv.

The Blood not only failed to apply for their full allotment, they even cared inadequately for those cattle issued them. In the winter of 1878, the Government was forced to hire four men at a cost of $250 a month to look after the Blackfoot herds.[79] The first winters on the reserve were harsh.[80] Rations were insufficient. To ward off starvation, the Blood ate mice, dogs, even buffalo skins. The cattle were surreptitiously slaughtered. In a few years, most of the animals issued under the Treaty of 1877 had disappeared. What remained in the herd of the Indian Department was cheerfully sold in 1884–5, removing "another source of expense and anxiety."[81]

It has frequently been said that these Indians of the Plains did not accept the government programs because they were so wedded to their nomadic life that they could not be persuaded to settle down and farm or look after their cows. A review of the official reports makes their lack of cooperation patent; but it also lends reason to their attitude. Cultivation of recommended but climatically unsuitable plants was one long headache. Nor could the milk of two cows, or their slow and uncertain increase, be expected to induce a family that had depended upon the hunt to give up the few pleasures of their former nomadism that still remained to them—visits to friends, rodeos, and the social compensations of the Sun Dance. The Blood accepted relief while they clung tenaciously to whatever could be salvaged from their former life.

The rations issued by the Government assured equality to the Blood, but on a meagre subsistence level. The outlawing of raiding, on the other hand, froze the "horse wealth," and those who had horse herds in 1877 were able to maintain them. In fact, barring accident, disease, or theft, these horse owners could expect a natural and, frequently, a substantial increase. This increase became the sole important source of accumulated wealth while initiative that had found expression in the old manner of life was blocked by poor rewards and legal prohibitions.

Mobility.—The uncertain balance of the pre-reserve days was thrown further out of joint. The Canadian administration was now responsible for tribal welfare, and a tribal leader's need to share his wealth to win loyal support was less urgent. The settled living, the small unproductive farms and few cattle made even a good worker a luxury. Only the rich man with

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[79] 1879, Vol. 6, No. 7, p. 67. The term Blackfoot is used here. It is not clear whether this is an inclusive term for all the tribes, or only for the North Blackfoot. The former seems more reasonable.

[80] W. J. Waines (*Problems of the Drought Area in Western Canada*, p. 206) writes, "Evidence suggests that during the period 1883–96 there were years in which the precipitation was as low as it has been since 1929, and that there was in addition considerable frost damage."

[81] 1884, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 83.

large herds might still prefer a poor yet capable son-in-law. More often, however, he tried to cement his position by marrying his daughter to the son of another rich man. Such marriages took place, for the most part, between children of ten or twelve years,[82] *minipoka* or "favorites." To enhance the status of the head of the family, these children were honored with special gifts and exempted from normal duties. Even as adults, they did not participate in the ordinary way in tribal life. The men continued to validate their position by generous giving, but the gifts they offered were more often derived from inheritance and the exploitation of brothers and sons-in-law than from their own labors. The girls grew up without learning to cook, and long after marriage expected their mothers to prepare their meals and carry them to their tipis.

Parental desire to channel wealth permanently was, however, frequently frustrated. The early training of these young and favored children made for even greater marital instability than was customary for the tribe as a whole. It was usually the rich or the handsome (and the two were often identical) who were credited with many marriages. The poor, less sought after, stuck it out longer, if not through thick and thin.

The following is a description of the marriage of two favorites. Thirty-five years later, the informant spoke of this short interlude with deepest pain. Like a hurt child he reviewed the hardships of these months of living together.

Yellow Wolf, my father, said to me, "Now don't fool around with anybody for you are a *minipoka*, and you should have a proper marriage." A marriage was arranged for me and Wakes at Night, the daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighters Band. She was a *minipoka* too, and only fourteen years old. She brought blankets and about fifteen pair of moccasins, enough for all the members of my family. She brought a pair for me. She also brought two broken and six unbroken horses. Yellow Wolf and his relatives put up twenty-five horses, their best ones. When this gift was sent to White Buffalo Robe, my father-in-law, Wakes at Night rode in front on a fine saddle horse. She wore a weasel-tail suit and a headdress. A wagon was loaded with blankets and goods. They were all taken over to White Buffalo Robe. White Buffalo Rib, a brother of Wakes at Night, received some of the horses. . . .

Wakes at Night was the second child, but like her older brother, she was also a *minipoka*. Our marriage was not a happy one. She did not treat me very well. We fought constantly about where we should live. White Buffalo Robe wanted me to live at his place, because his daughter was so young and got homesick. My father did not want to let me go—and besides I wanted to stay home with him. Whenever White Buffalo Robe thought I had done something wrong, he took his daughter home. This happened several times. I would send my father for her and get her back. When I took my wife to visit her parents, her father would keep us there for a longer time

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[82] A. E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure*, p. 35, notes a similar tendency of the rich to marry early.

than we had intended to stay, and my father, knowing what would happen when we went away, would make it hard for us to go.

It is not surprising that a marriage of this kind, with the children maneuvering to remain in their respective privileged homes, and the fathers maneuvering for even the limited *minipoka* help, did not last long. This one broke up in a year and a half.

When the favorites remarried, pomp, ceremony and property exchange were usually omitted, as they were in second marriages throughout the tribe. Free from the pressure of parents, a man might select a wife from any stratum of society. Passion rather than property dictated the new choice.

The growing concentration of horse wealth made an unstable marriage situation even more precarious. Young men had great difficulty in obtaining a wife at all, for they could neither pay for nor support one. Such difficulty was not unknown in the older Blood society despite the excess of women over men. The established hunters and warriors (i.e., men who had horses or their equivalent in ceremonial prestige) had two, three, or more wives.[83] Fathers urged their young and attractive daughters, then as now, upon older and successful men. But while the time of marriage was late (many men were twenty-five and the sons of the poor frequently over thirty)[84] a young man still had some chance to rise on his own initiative and win recognition. In the early eighties, and for twenty years to follow, he suffered from all the old disadvantages of the polygamous society, and the new order offered him few satisfactory ways of exhibiting his worth. In 1882, it was reported, "there was very little crime. More trouble was caused by the stealing of women from each other. Women sold for horses. Only a few are rich enough to buy women now. Most of the young men who have no horses cannot get married, and therefore steal from someone rich in women."[85]

Nevertheless, a few ways remained for making a living. A man might work out for whites or become a scout or farmer in the government service, or if he preferred to follow Indian custom, he could seek a vision and become a shaman, although remunerative practice did not immediately follow. Or he might, and here the rewards were quicker, improve his position by marrying a rich women, often some ten or fifteen years his senior. A sufficiently ambitious man might combine all of them. John Many Rattles did.[86] Born in 1862, he reached adulthood when it was most difficult for young men to rise. He hired out to whites, became a government scout at thirty-three,

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[83] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 526, "Many of them have six or seven wives."

[84] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 40. Cf. also Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272.

[85] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[86] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes, 1939.

bided his time in marriage and told his friend, Flesh Taster, that "he was looking for someone suitable to him, even though she might be older." Finally he sought a vision and acquired medicine power. What money he earned he put into horses and proceeded to validate his prestige in the traditional way. He bought bundles "with the idea of being a priest some day." He had observed how comfortable a living "bishops" made, and he aspired to become one. Today he earns about $300 as a Horn priest and $600 as a medicine doctor, "more when there is an epidemic."

But the opportunities for remunerative work were scarce and few young men had either Many Rattles' ambition or foresight. Farming and what little herding there was may have raised the subsistence level, but they brought no substantial increase in income. The young man's position became increasingly insecure. It was difficult to get a job, it was difficult to get a wife, it was difficult to get a horse, and the prestige and advantage that followed the buying of ceremonial objects was therefore denied him. To find a place in the new society he had to revert to the patterns of the past, even when they were forbidden. The 1887–1888 report states, "War parties [were] composed mostly of young men from 16–25 years of age . . ."[87] These were raids upon the neighboring herds, and usually the Government cut short a brave career with a jail sentence.

The chasm between rich and poor was widening. When an old medicine man was asked, "Who is *istuisanaps?* Who gets respect?" he answered, "Those people who are born of rich people and maintain their riches. Also those rich in prestige from bundles and war exploits," and finally he added, "a rich man must have acquired his riches through earnest, honest, hard labor."[88] For today as well as yesterday "respect" is usually phrased in terms of war exploits and ceremonial ownership. It is therefore most revealing that this medicine man who spent his young days bucking the concentration of horse wealth in the first years of the reserve period, should feel his early struggle so intensely that only secondarily does he define "respect" in the traditional manner. His final remarks are perhaps an apology for the "new" rich who do not buy ceremonial objects but receive covert "respect" from the group. Earnest, honest, hard labor was not rewarded in a distant past.[89] Skill, daring, and ambition were more apt to have brought success.

Child Status and Wealth.—Children of the rich were set apart from

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[87] 1888, Vol. 13, No. 15, p. 108. The report adds "Red Crow and the older men and chiefs strongly object to this horse stealing." In this, they followed a pattern at least as old as 1809. "The old men," reads the Journal of Henry and Thompson, p. 546, "redoubled their exertions to keep the young ones in order."

[88] Biele, Field Notes.

[89] Mishkin, *op. cit.*, p. 53, for a similar rephrasing.

children of the poor. At birth, the son of a rich man was placed upon an otter or a weasel skin. The poor man's child had to be content with a buckskin bag. Pointed Plume was initiated to many ceremonial objects for which large and handsome payments were made. The list is impressive: forelock of the Long Time Pipe; weasel-tail suit, a partnership in the Horn Society when he was only fourteen years old, and many ceremonial paintings to insure long life and prosperity. He was rarely permitted to leave his home and was never entrusted to any white school.

Ned Sloane, the son of a white father and an Indian mother who died when he was born, could boast of no such honorings. Deserted by his one remaining parent, the boy spent his childhood in the care of his Indian grandmother, visiting from relative to relative. "All of them treated me like a son," he said, but none gave him any substantial gift—not even his famous uncle Long Tail-feathers, owner of many powers, though Ned and his grandmother shared his home for years. At the tender age of seven, the youngster was sent to the Dunbow Industrial School, more than a hundred miles from the reserve. In the eleven years he "studied" there, he had four visitors.

Each member of a men's society hailed his fellow-member as *taka*, a term of friendship that frequently implied a greater degree of affection and loyalty than was lavished upon a close relative. Even after the buffalo had disappeared and the hunt was a thing of the past, these societies persisted; they still remain a great force for solidarity among the Blood. But within their membership social differences are clearly recognized. It was the rich men's sons who became the leaders because they could buy the more expensive bundles.[90]

Long before they were eligible for membership in such organizations, young children were well aware of age differences. Very consciously, they sought their playmates within a limited group. But even within this group, the children of the rich formed an inner clique which set them off as a snobbish elite and at the same time protected them from the envious assaults of their less fortunate comrades; not unexpectedly they chose their *taka* or special friend from their own social stratum. Pointed Plume says,

> I had a number of boy playmates. They were *minipoka* like me. Buffalo Horn was my special comrade, but Wolf Tail and Painted Arrow were also close friends.
>
> Buffalo Horn, like me, was a *minipoka* and the only boy in the family. It was much easier to play with another *minipoka*, for when we were teased by the gang, I and Buffalo Horn could stick together. Also my family felt that Buffalo Horn was a fit companion for me. He came of a wealthy family and was a favorite son.

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[90] Maximilian, *Travels in the Interior of North America*, p. 256, for the buffalo period.

In the children's play camp, however, age-grades were frequently forgotten and boys and girls imitated the life of adults. Some chose to be husband and wife, others mother and child. Pointed Plume says,

> Usually we had partners, but my older sister almost always played with me. I was her son. She thought it safest if she took care of me, because I was a *minipoka*.

No such supervision was given a Ned Sloane. He frankly tells of his sex play with a little girl of five.

The poorer children served the rich children much as the poorer adults served the rich adults. Sometimes this was a matter of free choice, a desire to be identified with a more fortunate child. Pointed Plume says,

> Bird Shooter was not a *minipoka* but he liked to play with the favorite children. His father was related to my father. He had just enough money to keep going. Bird Shooter was a little younger than I. He used to stand at the stick and call the winner in the arrow game.

The service of others, however, was bought and paid for. Pointed Plume says,

> One of our favorite pastimes was making horses out of mud. Neither I nor Buffalo Horn was particularly good at this and we tried to induce Big Bonnet, who was poor but a good sculptor, to play with us and make horses for us. At first he didn't care to, but I finally persuaded him to come to my house. My father gave him moccasins and and pair of pants and my mother fed him well, so he remained with us. He and I were the same age, about ten.

And this service was exacted once it had been bought. Pointed Plume says,

> Big Bonnet used to play the arrow game with us. Arguments would arise as to who was the winner. Big Bonnet wanted his arrows back and would fight the others. If I and Buffalo Horn beat him up he would go home, but he had to come back the next day to play because he was paid for.

Poor boys tried to get even. Ned Sloane says,

> When I was six, there was a favorite child who lived in our band and who wore a weasel skin charm which hung down his back. One day, one of the older boys grabbed the weasel skin and twisted it so that the cord almost choked the *minipoka*. He finally freed himself and went crying to his father. The gang broke up quickly. They were afraid when the father of the boy screamed at them the worst curse known to the Blood, "May you have an early death!"[1]

SUMMARY.—These first seventeen years on the reservation saw the greatest change in Blood society since the introduction of the horse. A people who had been nomadic, subsisted on buffalo, and raided their neighbors, both white and Indian, for horses that alone brought prestige and the possibility of social advance—these people were now settled within the

confines of a limited area, asked to follow unrewarding and unfamiliar occupations, and forbidden the one activity that assured them a place in their society—horse-stealing. That such a radical change was accomplished without resistance was due to one fact: there were no more buffalo on these once blackened plains. Rations offered by a friendly though foreign government alone made life possible.

Much of the traditional living was destroyed. But the economic mechanisms developed in the buffalo period survived. Unlike the rebellious Sioux, the acquiescent Blood were permitted to retain their horses. To this starving people these horses remained the symbol of wealth. Exuberant property transfers for ceremonial privilege and prestige continued to dominate their life but, lacking the earlier opportunities for improving status, only those who had horses before 1877 were able to participate in ostentatious displays. The need for loyal supporters diminished. So did the need for an energetic, though poor, son-in-law. The rich preferred to bulwark their position by marrying their children to others equally favored. Social stratifications, incipient in the buffalo days, became more marked in these early years of the reserve period.

1894–1910

The new economy continued to be a desultory affair. By 1896, the population had fallen to 1400.[91] The Blood were farming 304 acres, an increase of only twenty-nine in ten years. The farms were small, but the agent proudly reported that "instead of 35 fields worked mostly by whites in 1886, there were now 84 fields worked mostly by Indians."[92] Still the old difficulties remained and new ones were added. "The depression and lack of need of Indian labor and commodities, the poor crops in the Northwest Territories made it necessary to continue relief without curtailment, in spite of increasing vigilance."[93]

The earnings for the year, although greater than they had ever been before and distributed to more individuals, fell far below the needs of the tribe:[94]

Mining coal	$380.00
Hauling coal	725.00
Freighting	1183.69
Hay sold	1400.00
Working wages	2000.00
Sundries	1821.42
Total	$7510.11

[91] 1896, Vol. 10, No. 14, p. 367.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 326.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

Success of Cattle-raising.—Since the land seemed so inhospitable to farming yet so desirable for herding, the Canadian Indian Department made another attempt to introduce cattle-breeding on the various Blackfoot reserves. In 1894, three of the most influential men of the Blood, Red Crow, the old tribal chief who had concluded the Treaty of 1877, Crop-eared Wolf, his adopted son, and Sleeps on Top, were permitted to exchange their ponies for "bulls, cows, heifers and calves." Twenty-three were issued to the first two, and Sleeps on Top received eighteen.[95]

Time and the inevitability of a settled life upon the reserve may have made the Blood readier to accept the responsibility of herding now than in the past, but the main reasons for the success of this program must be looked for elsewhere. Only a few of their hundreds of animals were of real use for farming, transportation and riding. On the other hand, the Blood had seen the success of a similar program among the neighboring Piegan. The rich herders knew that an exchange of twenty for twenty would bring quick benefits and would not radically reduce their manipulative horse wealth. There was a great clamor for cattle; but the man without horses remained the man without cows.

The following is a list taken from the official record of some who applied for cattle at this time:[96]

Red Crow (chief): . . .House in good condition, comfortably furnished. . .a nice lot of poultry, a large band of horses and about 25 head of cattle. . . .The house had a carpeted floor. . .and there was a good sewing machine. The chief would like to exchange some ponies for some heifers.

Iron (son of Chief Moon): Neat house. No cattle. Large band of horses, good stable, implements, shed, hay corral, cattle shed to be built, logs for which were on the ground. . . .Was anxious to exchange horses for cattle.

To-morrow: Good house. . .stoves, two beds, outside kitchen, building new stable. . .root house, corral, large band of horses, logs on ground for cattle shed, and wants to get cattle.

Running Crane: House was in its usual good shape, bedsteads, rocking chairs, washstands, red table-cloth on table, fancy stand-up, clock, coal and cook stoves, carpet on floor. . .cattle shed in hollow. . . anxious to get cattle.

Big Snake: a similar place, wants cattle also.

Black Plume: a similar place, also wants to get cattle.

Others who had well-kept houses are mentioned, but no demands for cattle are registered. It may easily be inferred that although these Indians

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[95] *Ibid.*, p. 272 ff.
[96] *Idem.*

were cooperating admirably in the new way of life, they had no horses to exchange. And interestingly enough, at the very time cattle were being issued to the rich in exchange for their horses, some of the younger men, cut off from the new wealth, as they had been from the old, again "committed depredations on the ranchers' cattle."[97] Raiding which was a necessary and legitimate road to wealth in the buffalo days, still seemed necessary in 1895, but it was no longer legitimate.

From the point of view of the reserve (and those who had horses) the program was a great success.

> The first 50 head of heifers issued to the Indians last summer have done well and the Indians took great care of them all winter. The cattle were never stabled, but kept in good sheds and corrals carefully made and well sheltered in the brush, the increase for the first year being thirty head. The other Indians have shown great anxiety to get cattle and a large number have been applied for. During the present year I have traded over one hundred head of cattle to different Indians for ponies and still the supply is not equal to the demand. This owning of cattle I consider the first great step these Indians have yet taken to make themselves self-supporting, their reserve being one of the best grazing parts in Southern Alberta, and capable of feeding a great many thousands of cattle.[98]

By 1897, "profits having rapidly accrued to these few, the desire to follow their example became so great that the department could not, with the means at its disposal, meet the demands upon it."[99] In the first year, 50 heifers had been issued; in the second, 100 more; and at the end of two years, these had increased to 291 head.[100]

The first decade of the 1900's saw not only a great increase in herds, but in cash income from both horses and cattle. In 1898, the Deputy General of Indian Affairs had reported, "A market has sprung up in a most unexpected direction, purchases of these ponies having been made for the purpose of packing freight through the Klondike."[101] This market continued, and in 1902 we read, "A great demand has sprung up for Indian ponies and I am pleased to see the Indians taking advantage of this and selling. Over 400 head must have been sold during the season."[102] That same year the slaughtered cattle netted their owners $4180.[103]

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[97] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[99] 1897, Vol. 11, No. 14, p. xxi.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[101] 1898, Vol. 11, No. 14, p. xxi.
[102] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, Pt. 1, p. 133.
[103] *Idem.*

The total income of the tribe had risen to $29,000.[104] Of this amount, one-half was derived from farm products including hay. The two were, in fact, almost synonymous, for only 51½ acres were still being cultivated.[105] The erratic subsistence farming was rapidly abandoned and the whole tribe turned to providing fodder for the new herds: "Almost the only occupations beside looking after the cattle and horses are hay making and freighting coal."[106]

Many factors encouraged the Blood to join in the haying experiment. First, a market existed both on and off the reservation: what the Indian herds did not need was sold to the Mounted Police or neighboring white ranchers. Second, there was no onerous cultivation. Except for a few irrigated acres, the hay that was cropped grew wild on the prairies. And finally, in a new setting, the haying camps recalled the great days of their hunting past. In the late summer, the tribe again made for the open range. Any man who owned a wagon, a team of horses, and a few implements, could be sure of some income from the new industry. Those who lacked even these few basic necessities could attach themselves to wealtheir men. As in the earlier time, their labor would be rewarded by some small share in the harvest. Advantage still remained with the men of wealth, but participation was assured at a low level, and even the poor man had a chance.

The camps also strengthened, if only temporarily, bonds of family and band. The notorious Charcoal,[107] who had left his home in anger and moved far off by himself, joined the haying camp, again accepted the leadership of his brother and helped bring in the crop. Desire to share in the new wealth overcame violent intra-familial resentment.

In 1902, one-third of the adult males on the reserve owned cattle.[108] By 1909, practically every man could boast a cow. Numerous circumstances contributed to the more equitable distribution of wealth during the first decade of the century. Such industries as haying, hauling, or working in the beet factory were open to everyone. In 1905, beet fields were planted at Raymond,[109] and two years later the Blood earned $9000 topping beets and carting them to the factory.[110] And the report continues, "One of our Indians named Black Horse has a small coal mine on the banks of the St. Mary's River from which he makes his living mining and selling coal to the

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[104] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 228.

[105] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 220.

[106] *Ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 132.

[107] Charcoal later murdered his wife's lover. He killed himself as he was about to be apprehended by the Agency police assisted by his own brothers.

[108] 1904, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 237.

[109] 1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 203.

[110] 1907–1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 161.

schools and settlers in the neighborhood."[111] His lucrative venture added to the general income: anyone so minded could haul coal at a fixed rate.

But the chief concern of the Blood was with their herds. In 1902, a loan system had been established.[112] "The system," explains a report, "is the lending to the Indians of one or two animals upon condition that, at the expiration of a certain time he will return to the department an equal number,—these in turn being loaned to others." Any increase above that number was his. And in 1905, the Blood demanded the 900 head of cattle still due under the old treaty of 1877. Having once refused them, "these men seeing the advance made by cattle herders . . . changed their minds."[113]

By 1906, the Blood had more than 7500 cattle,[114] and a cash income of

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[111] *Ibid.* Among the Northern Blackfoot the mines are tribally owned and the benefits general. In fact, in contradistinction to the Blood, much of the experience of this tribe in the reserve period has tended to equalize wealth. Among other things, the cold winters of 1905–6 and 1906–7 affected the Northern Blackfoot much more seriously than they did the Blood and more of their cattle were lost. This no doubt inspired a more general North Blackfoot participation in agriculture both before 1910 and after. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920, therefore, did not create as inequitable a situation for them as they did for the Blood.

But perhaps even more fundamental to the general security of the North Blackfoot was their income from annuities and land rentals that became substantial something over twenty years ago. These neatly cushioned the shock from any drop in market price. In 1923, they reached a combined total of more than $88,000 (for the Blood approximately $22,000); in 1934, during the great depression and drought, the North Blackfoot had an income of almost $125,000 from these same sources (the Blood something over $13,000). The last published figures (for 1936) vary little from these. A census taken in 1939 reveals a North Blackfoot population of 830; a Blood population of 1476.

According to Dr. Jane Richardson and Dr. Lucien M. Hanks, Jr. (personal communications) everyone on the North Blackfoot Reserve under fifty years of age receives $25 annually, over fifty years, $50. Besides liberal grocery rations, 7 lbs. of meat are allotted weekly to each individual. The sick and aged receive additional help. At marriage a young couple is set up in a newly built or adequately refurbished house, given furniture, a horse and wagon if desired, and what is more important, forty acres of the best cultivatable land still available. An informant told Dr. Richardson, "There are no more poor on this reserve." Another, somewhat nostalgic for the privileges of the past, said, "It isn't fun being a *minipoka* on this reserve any more." While there is still considerable wife-beating and a rare case of wife-murder, Dr. Richardson says there is little violence exhibited between males. Evidently, the practical elimination of wealth differences has effectively reduced the strains of competition, and as a corollary, the incidence of assault among them.

[112] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 132.

[113] 1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.

[114] 1907–1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 162. This peak was not maintained. The cold winter that followed reduced the herds almost one-third (among the Piegan and the North Blackfoot the loss was even higher). Fifty-five hundred cattle survived and no great dislocation of ownership seems to have resulted.

approximately $40,000 annually.[115] As early as 1902, the agent had written, "these Indians are certainly industrious and never lose an opportunity to make money at any work that may turn up."[116] And four years later the general report reads, "A complete change has gradually come over their views. . . . The experimental discovery of the market value has brought this revolution of feeling."[117] Completely forgotten was the fact that the market value had been equally important to a successful fur trade in the buffalo days, and that then it had also been a spur to industry and ambition.

Social Values Sustained.—But neither the increase in wealth nor its greater spread threatened the dominance of the large horse owners. True, they were persuaded, at long last, to care for the meat needs of their families from their own stock,[118] but the small dent made by these contributions was quickly offset by other government policies. The flow of white settlers into the area was steady, and it soon became apparent that "further expansion need not in the future be looked for so much in the direction of the increase of herds already in the hands of individuals as in the number of those who will engage in the industry, because largely in consequence of the curtailment of the hay areas . . . and the gradual increase of cattle, a large and growing proportion of Indians have already reached the limit of what they could profitably handle. . . ."[119] Ponies and priority had determined the size and ownership of the large cattle herds.

Many a young man who could not acquire a substantial herd of his own was drawn into the industry as a helper. His position in terms of the old buffalo days was in part reëstablished. Again his services were in demand; again he was assured board, lodging, clothing, and if his employer were generous, a horse as an annual bonus. These helpers were often the younger or poorer relatives of rich herders,[120] and they hoped for preferential treatment because of relationship. There was little chance of riches in this work,

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[116] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 133.

[117] 1906, Vol. 12, No. 27, p. xxv.

[118] In 1905, twenty-five men agreed to support seventy-five women and children. They handed back the $50 that had been credited to their meat account. (1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.) By 1907–1908, two hundred Blood, or about two-thirds of the adult male population, found it unnecessary to draw free food allowances. In that year the Government supplied the tribe with 273,000 lbs. less beef than it had five years earlier. (1907–1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 163.)

[119] 1907–1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. xxvi.

[120] A more or less similar situation exists among the Kazak. In discussing the helpers of cattle owners, A. E. Hudson (*Kazak Social Structure*, p. 27) writes, "These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who receive wages."

but despite the unattractiveness of the wage, some of the ambitious still sought these jobs. Loyal service might be rewarded by a convenient marriage.

Although the poor man might raise his status by marrying the daughter of his rich employer, there were many times when he complained of continued exploitation after such a marriage. "Respect" did not always follow. Certain brave souls broke from the trying situation, but many knew that, if you were born poor, the ways and means of getting ahead fast were still few.

Squirrel Man, Yellow Wolf's poor son-in-law, stuck it out. His behavior bespeaks his frustrations. A year after marriage, the young groom brought his bride to her father's place. Here they were given a home of their own, "for Squirrel Man had nothing except what he got from his father-in-law for whom he worked from that time on." He sat in the Sun Lodge which his "chaste" wife put up, but it was her brother, Pointed Plume, who paid most of the expenses, made the large distributions at the give-away, and gained in prestige. Later, when Squirrel Man's sons wanted to farm, they had to borrow horses and wagons from their wealthy uncle. In time, "although he always acted like a brother to Pointed Plume," as one informant put it, the unhappy husband could tolerate his lot no longer. He feigned suicide when his wife persisted in visiting her brother; he flashed a mirror from the hill-top (a conventional invitation to assignation) in an attempt to bolster his ego and make his wife jealous—but in his case there was no eager mistress to answer it; he abandoned his wife and home, only to return meekly a short time later led by the agent; and as a final symbol of his castration, he hastily donned woman's clothes and hid when he was called by the court as a witness.[121]

Other young men preferred to work for the agency or white ranchers, for the money wages received from such employment offered a greater measure of independence. The poor young man no longer had to accept a patronizing handout from a rich relative; he no longer had to be a burden to a poor one. But despite the new opportunities, the economic advantage at marriage would still favor the sons of the rich. The poor young man might have secured some few cattle from a late issue; he might have bought a saddle horse for $100 and a fine saddle for $105; he might even have invested in a few horses, as indeed Ned Sloane did after years of working out. But all

[121] Here and in the case of the man who wanted to murder his wife because he believed she was sleeping with a ghost (see p. 51), abnormal behavior was laid to the eating of peyote. This is particularly interesting since peyote is rarely used by the Blackfoot. Squirrel Man got it from a visiting medicine man—one informant said he was a Crow, another an Osage—who put on a peyote cure for Mrs. Squirrel Man. The other secured the buttons while he was visiting the Crow.

this was as nothing compared with a Pointed Plume's equipment. "When I was married in 1905," said he, "my father turned over his whole herd of horses (about 100) to me. A few others had been given to me previously as gifts. My father told me that if I took care of the cattle I would get my share, and in 1916, he gave me twenty-five head . . . the next year my father gave me another twenty-five." It is not surprising that this favorite son was reluctant to leave his rich father and a secure and indulgent home for a few dollars in wages.

All in all, it was still the owners of the large herds who benefited most from the growing cash income. They plowed back a considerable portion of it into better homes, better barns, better furnishings and better fences, as the Government urged them to do. Yet a goodly amount of cash was still available to them. This the inspector reported was "squandered in riotous living." Schooled in the old Blackfoot tradition of "generosity," these Indians felt that added prestige could only accrue from conspicuous spending. The same group that had made fine payments for pipes, bundles, and memberships with their surplus horses, were now able to stage bigger and better feasts and give away valuable goods, such as cloth, blankets, shawls, in quantities unknown for many years.

Gifts flowed freely, but the circle within which they flowed remained, as before, narrow and selected. The rich gave to the rich, to their close relatives, or to those to whom they were under obligation for some past favor. For example: Yellow Wolf chose his son's best friend, the *minipoka*, Buffalo Horn, to be the husband of his brother's daughter. Pointed Plume said, "At the time of the marriage, I gave Buffalo Horn his weasel tail suit and a bonnet for a present." And then he added, "Later Buffalo Horn gave me a similar outfit." To the goodly gift of ten horses contributed to the bride price by his brother, Yellow Wolf added another five. All went to the rich father of Buffalo Horn. When Pointed Plume married the favorite daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighter's Band, Yellow Wolf gave the already wealthy leader twenty-five horses. At a funeral feast given for Round Chief by his adopted son, Big Head and his nephew, Pointed Plume, the latter gave away two horses—one to Black Bear, his maternal uncle whom his father Yellow Wolf had superseded for the chieftaincy, the other to Split Arrow, the father of Dancing Bird who was his wife at this time. He said, "When Round Chief joined the Horn Society, he took me in as his partner. I was about fourteen at the time. This shows how close we were." It also shows why he participated so actively in the death feast.

Ned Sloane paid three horses as a bride price to his father-in-law, Charging Buffalo, who distributed them as follows: one horse was given to Charging Buffalo's brother-in-law who had previously made a gift of a

horse to the bride; one horse was given to Wooden Ears who had been Charging Buffalo's partner in the Horn Society, and who, if one can trust custom, had made an appropriate gift because of that relationship; and the finest saddle horse was handed over to John Bruce in exchange for a nice large house that Charging Buffalo wished to occupy.

The more general society give-aways made demands particularly on the rich, but these demands were rarely resented. Irregular, and usually not onerous, they enhanced the prestige of the giver. In no way did they raise the status of those who received. Requests for special objects could, it is true, only be denied with loss of face, but no Blood would hesitate to circumvent expectation by resorting to the simple device of "shaming," well known long before the reserve period.[122] One example will suffice. In 1905 Mountain Pine led a fine buckskin horse to the corral. Crow Chief admired the animal saying, "I wish I owned that horse." Mountain Pine answered, "You can have it if you face to the east and cry 'Mama, I wish I owned such a horse.' " He then handed over the horse while the bystanders laughed heartily. It is not surprising that under these circumstances, Crow-Chief refused to accept it.[123]

Relationships within the age-grade societies were still a matter of group concern, and great efforts were made by the wealthier members to be "brotherly" and back up the poor. The methods employed were frequently devious. When Ghost Moon brazenly demanded a new saddle from Moose Dung, a poor member of Middle Bear's society, the latter felt impelled to satisfy the request to save his *taka's* face, without, however, benefiting him more directly.[124]

In these years of economic expansion, old ways of spending were exaggerated. Favorites were showered with expensive gifts and raiment. A saddle costing $80–$100, silver spurs, special boots, finely beaded blankets, all might be lavished on a small and favored son. He was initiated to many ceremonial objects for which large payments were made not only in horses, but in fine goods. As the herds grew these payments became more ostentatious. The Long Time Pipe alone sold several times for 100 horses.

Nor was it enough for a prosperous Blood to have one favorite. Many had two or more. Pointed Plume said he wanted to "treat his two boys alike." Others frankly stated they wanted to show how rich they were. To all it gave great satisfaction to add to prestige by conspicuous spending.

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[122] There are many ways in which shaming could be used to emphasize wealth differences. For instance, at a formal smoke where bundles were named and prices given, "Those having a long list were cheered, while those having a short one were ridiculed." (Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 276).

[123] Biele, Field Notes.

[124] *Ibid.*

The less successful families aped their wealthier neighbors. They too had give-aways, but these were on a lesser scale. They were initiated to a part of a bundle; they bought the cheaper society memberships; they too had their favorites, but these children had to be content with small honorings. They might receive an otter skin, even a weasel-tail suit, or they might wear their umbilical cords in little beaded bags as the "real" favorites did. But these meagre efforts of their parents to "keep up with the Jones's," never succeeded in gaining recognition for their children. Only when the spending was great and continual was a child considered a "real" favorite by the Blood. A Bird Shooter or a Joe Duck-Bill might say, "I was a *minipoka*, but my father died when I was still young. That is why I haven't many honorings." At these avowals the Blood would only laugh; they knew what it took to make a favorite.

Shamanism began to lose its hold. Wissler, writing at this time, says of the vision quest, "The majority of young men fail in this ordeal as an unreasonable fear usually comes down upon them the first night, causing them to abandon their part."[125] Whatever may have been the trials of the ordeal it was not waning courage alone that turned the interest of the young men from the vision quest and medicine power. There were now more rewarding ways of earning a living.

Even the older men showed little interest in the quest itself, although they still sought the benefits of supernatural power. Says Wissler, "Men of medicine experience seldom resort to these tortures, as dreams of a satisfactory character are said to come to them in normal sleep,"[126] and in another passage, he adds, "At present the majority of men seems content to secure their charms and other medicines from those who do have dreams or from the large stock of such available for transfer."[127] Emphasis on courage and inspiration disappeared; increasingly wealth was the preferred road to power.

Summary.—In this period of 1894–1910, the bulk of the wealth still rested in the hands of the horse-owners who in the first seventeen years of the reserve succeeded in freezing the only valuable form of property that remained to the Blood after the treaty of 1877. The loan system, the final distribution of cattle, the need for fodder and additional help, as well as those industries that paid money wages, spread the wealth. With the increased oppportunities for making a living, social differences became less conspicuous, but the dominance of the large horse and cattle owners was never threatened. As the economy expanded, the rich spent more lavishly,

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[125] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 104.
[126] *Idem.*
[127] *Idem.*

and those who shared in the new wealth imitated as successfully as they could the behavior of the wealthy tribesmen. The new herding economy functioned comfortably within the framework of pre-reserve values.

1910–1920

Farming and the New Money Economy.—After the turn of the century, experiment revealed that the soil and climate of the Blood Reserve were well adapted to the cultivation of red fife, an early maturing wheat,[128] and shortly before 1910, land was thrown open for farming. The cattle herders, led by their head chief, Crop-eared Wolf, objected vociferously to any reduction of their grazing fields,[129] but the agency, interested primarily in obtaining the largest income possible, was not deterred. The younger men, "the working element" as the report calls them, eagerly backed the new plan and rushed in their applications for land, "as much as a steam plough can break in two years."[130] This "working element" saw its first big chance to make good since the buffalo days.[131] It was a composite of half-breeds who shared in a small way, if at all, in the property distributions of their Blood relatives, a number of full-bloods whose families could offer them little, and a few ambitious and far-sighted cattle owners, mostly from those very chiefly families that had, at first, fought the program so bitterly. The bulk of the herders, however, were content with their lucrative herds and their share in the income from hay. Their poorer but not too distant relatives preferred helping them to embarking upon a new and untried career.

Previous wealth was no prerequisite to this new farming program. Anyone willing to work could get forty acres of land, plowed and ready to plant. "The intention is to continue the breaking until every working Indian on the reserve is supplied with whatever acreage he is capable of cultivating."[132] In 1909, 820 acres were broken for fifteen Indians.[133] The farms ran together in a great strip to facilitate the plowing that was done with a steam plow bought with tribal funds, but the report explicitly states, "each man

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[128] Waines, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[129] 1909, Vol. 15, No. 27, p. 169; also Harry D. Biele, interview in 1939 with R. C. Wilson, former agent of the Blood.

[130] *idem.*

[131] Speaking of agriculture, Hudson (*op. cit.*, p. 31) says of this herding tribe, "Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor any other means of subsistence resorted to it." Owen Lattimore (*High Tartary*, p. 245) notes a similar situation. "In the new tendency, it is the young man not established and the man who fails to hold his own as a flock-master, herder, and raider who drifts out of the nomadic life and settles on the land."

[132] 1910, Vol. 17, No. 27, p. 174.

[133] 1909, Vol. 15, No. 27, p. 169.

owns his own farm and after it is broken for him, works it individually without having any interest in the work or produce of any of the adjoining farms. . . .[134] Out of the proceeds of the crop each Indian paid back to the trust fund all advances that had been made him including cost of breaking land, seed, fencing, granaries."[135]

Returns were immediate and large. Chief Running Antelope, who bought out one of the other Indians[136] while the crop was growing and thus harvested eighty acres, had a cash balance of $1309.42 after paying all debts and advances. Emile Bull Shield came next with a net balance of $1203.59. Tallow took third place with clear profits of $1200.81.[137] By the end of the decade, many a young farmer was better off than the old established cattle herders.

The following table shows the amazing increase in income during this decade of greatest participation:[138]

	1911	*1914*	*1919*	*1920*
Farm products, including hay.	$29,645	$24,000	$99,575	$110,000
Beef	11,549	14,348	60,000	59,929
Wages	13,432	17,751	35,000	50,000
Miscellaneous	2,124	5,001	39,171	34,403
Total income	$56,750	$61,100	$233,746	$254,332

In 1919, there were 4000 cattle (a substantial decrease from the figures of 1906) and 3600 horses on the reserve; 2800 acres were sown, almost entirely in wheat, and 10,000 tons of hay were cut.[139] Due to World War I, all commodity prices were inflated and the returns from beef and farm products multiplied four times in as many years. Everyone prospered. Even the single men without herds or land had no difficulty in finding a job.

Sometimes a worker might be given a small share of the crop, sometimes he might receive cash wages, but most frequently the remuneration offered by former herder or new farmer was not unlike that of the buffalo days. Says Pointed Plume,

> In the years I was building my herd and farming I hired Bob Sharp Cutter to help me. He was the son of my father's brother, Sharp Cutter. He was much younger

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[134] *Idem.*

[135] 1910, Vol. 17, p. 174.

[136] Once assigned, land could be "sold" or "rented" by one Blood to another. Leases to whites were made only with the permission of the Agency and the native Council of Chiefs.

[137] 1910, Vol. 17, p. 174.

[138] 1911, Vol. 19, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 24; 1914, Vol. 23, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 1; 1919, Vol. 9, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 68; 1920, Vol. 8, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 76.

[139] 1919, Vol. 9, No. 27, p. 36.

than I. When he came, he was still single, but he remained with me for several years after his marriage. He lived in the same house with me. He received no regular pay, but he was given board and lodging. Sometimes I made him a gift. In the fall I would take him to the dry goods store and fit him out. After his marriage, I boarded his wife as well. Besides this, he kept $4.00 out of each $8.00 I paid for hauling the grain to the elevator. There were about thirty hauls.

Says Ned Sloane,

Spotted Tail, my father-in-law's brother's son worked for me three summers and winters. He was single and lived in my house. He received no regular wage, but besides his board and lodging, I gave him a horse at the end of each year, a complete riding outfit, some clothes, and a small cash bonus every so often. When he married he left me, but his brother who was still single took his place and worked for me for two years.

Shamanism appealed only to the old who were still willing to purchase medicine with horses and validate it with dreams. The herders continued to build up their position as they had in the past. They bought medicine bundles; they joined societies; they honored their sons and daughters with lavish payments in both horses and goods for ceremonial privileges. The new rich spent their money on seeds, implements, barns, and wagons. Unwilling to accumulate more than the few horses necessary to their daily tasks, these fortunate farmers felt no urge to enhance their prestige by ceremonial purchase. But they did have favorites "the American way." They honored their children with extravagant outfits, a fine saddle horse, a fine saddle. While they spent their money differently from the horse owners, they were just as eager to set their sons and daughters apart from the sons and daughters of the poorer families as were the owners of the large herds.

Summary.—During this decade income spread was greatest and Blood prosperity at its peak. With few exceptions, the new farming program received its strongest support from those individuals who had the smallest stake in their society. Quick rewards soon set them on a par with the successful herders, but lacking a surplus of horses, they did not validate their position in the customary manner. For the first time in the history of the Blood, a money economy, entirely divorced from the traditional horse economy, flourished exuberantly and with success in this competitive society.

1920–1940

Frost and Depression.—At the end of this golden decade, two catastrophes befell the Blood. The post-war depression caused a sudden drop in commodity prices. Both farmers and herders suffered. But prior to this, the harsh winters of 1919 and 1920 had created a much more fundamental

change in the fabric of their tribal life. The excessive cold practically annihilated the cattle herds.[140] At one stroke, the accumulated capital of the herders was wiped out. For the farmers the blow was temporary; they still had their land, and after the difficult years a good income, although a smaller one, could again be derived from wheat. But a herd could not be replaced in a day, or in a year. Most of the old breeders gave up in despair. The wheat farmers bought up the cattle that survived.

Pointed Plume, scion of one of those chiefly families that had been ambitious enough to farm as well as herd, says,

> Then in 1919 the winter was very severe. The Government feared for the cattle and horses on the range, and the cattle were driven into a cow camp to protect them. In spite of all our care, most of the cattle starved. I had only two left. But the still high price for wheat made it possible for me to buy more. Weasel White Buffalo, my wife's father,[141] said to me, "You are very foolish to raise cattle. You may be wiped out again." But I went ahead. Other Indians who had only a few remaining cows were glad to sell them to me, and when the Dunbow Industrial School was discontinued, I bought up their herd for something like $300. I paid in wheat money and horses, one horse or $30 for a cow and a calf. Today I and my two sons have 160 head of cattle.

The loss of cattle in the cold winters of 1919 and 1920 meant the loss of all cash income to the herders; but enough horses remained[142] to carry on the traditional exchange and purchase. Again on relief the erstwhile herders still achieved prestige in the old way, but with this difference: the horse was no longer the chief symbol of wealth. The agency was quick to recognize this. Horse exchanges and payments are not entered in the official books, but transactions in wheat and cattle are duly recorded. For the first time in more than a century, the man with horses was not necessarily the rich man. Yet he continued to buy eagerly, even compulsively, into societies although he could not always complete the purchase. He might join the Horn Society, four times, six times, eight times, but in spite of such constant validation, his position became less secure. He still got "respect" but "respect" worn thin because it was not bolstered by real wealth. Then, as now, real wealth was in the hands of those men who had gone into farming around 1910.

Never again did cattle herding approach its former peak or popularity. In 1930, there were only 1300 head of cattle on the reserve, less than one-

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[140] According to the 1922 report, Vol. 8, No. 27, p. 50, only 1376 head remained.

[141] The father of Pointed Plume's third wife.

[142] The number of horses affected by the cold was considerably less than the number of cattle. A clue to this situation is given by Hudson (*op. cit.*, p. 31). He writes: "The horses would first break the crust of snow with their hoofs and eat the top of the grass. After which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks."

fifth the number the Blood had boasted in their herding heyday.[143] The income from beef products, if not impressive, remained stable: since 1922, it has varied only within a few thousand dollars. Wheat, however, the mainstay of Blood economy, fluctuated seriously in the post-war period and again with the depressed markets of the early thirties and the extreme droughts that followed. From 1930 to 1932, the number of acres cultivated decreased 50 per cent; farm income dropped from the substantial level of $100,000[144] to a miserable $24,000;[145] and "the seasons of 1934–5–6 were in many ways the most discouraging to Indian farmers."[146] Many of them joined the herders on the relief rolls of the agency.

Not unlike the situation in our own West, land was being concentrated in the hands of the few. In 1939, Jim Belly Fat farmed 600 acres—income, $9000; Pointed Plume and his son George farmed 300 acres—income, $3000; another son, Harry farmed 100 acres—income $960.[147] From the first figure there was still deductible support for a sick brother's family and compensation for a helper, but the last two may be accepted as net.

The situation is beginning to tell and tensions over land are growing. The small acreages cultivated in the first years of the reserve did not vitally affect the general economy. The none too productive farms remained little more than homesteads. Nor did the substantial allotments of wheat lands in 1910 create any land shortage; all requests could be satisfied, and in the years that followed, the on-coming generation could also get land for the asking. Wissler, discussing the distribution of property at death, observes, "The older sons usually take the bulk, but must make some concessions to all concerned."[148] So little was land a problem in the early years of wheat farming that a system of ultimogeniture found acceptance:[149] it was customary to permit the youngest son, if he had helped farm his father's land, to inherit it in entirety, on the assumption that the older children had already been well taken care of. Today such expectancy is frequently unfulfilled.

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[143] 1930, Pt. 2, p. 64.

[144] Ibid., p. 72.

[145] 1932, Pt. 2, p. 42. Total income dropped from $150,000 to $62,000.

[146] 1937, p. 23.

[147] He had already "borrowed" 50 acres more to work the following year.

[148] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 26. Informants stated that in wealthy families mature sons were provided with horses and later with cattle. Yet at the time of the final distribution serious disputes arose between grown siblings over the disposition of the remainder share. If the children were minors, the property usually went to the dead man's brothers who were obviously then expected to look after them.

[149] Ultimogeniture, it would seem, can only operate in an agricultural society when there is no scarcity of cultivatable land. As land shortages developed, a number of European countries changed within historic time from a system of ultimo- to primogeniture.

Easy access to good land is no longer possible, and the best of it has been allotted. A young and ambitious Blood must either turn again to wages, as indeed the sons of rich farmers have done, or if he is not content with the marginal land still available, he must wheedle an idle farm from a more fortunate if less industrious tribesman. He may get it as a loan or on a rental basis, but he is never certain how long he will be permitted to crop it. The more successful he is, the more eager the renter will be to reclaim his land and try his hand at it again. Violent conflict and familial hostility frequently result.

Changing Prestige Factor.—Distinctions between rich and poor are still drawn, and frequently these obscure expected behavior. The rich daughter-in-law is served; the poor one does the work. The poor son-in-law is disparaged. Even the impoverished herder or unsuccessful farmer, in memory of a better day, will storm when his daughter marries a poor orphan. A poor sister-in-law said of her rich one, "She always makes me work for her at her house, but she never does anything when she visits me." A poor young wife who may make a simple and justified request will be sarcastically told, "Go home, you *minipoka*." The real "favorite" may exploit his childhood privilege in the face of little criticism even after he has reached adulthood.

The beautiful and discontented wife of a poor man may brazenly flaunt her affair with her rich lover, but the unhappy wife of a rich man will find some more dignified way of showing her dissatisfaction. When her husband philanders, she may refuse to cook his food; she may roll up in her own blanket and deny him his conjugal rights; she may leave him, or she may entertain his mistress, ply her with fine gifts, and receive the approbation of society "because she shows no jealousy."

A chief or member of the Horn Society is also roundly applauded when he shows no jealousy; but the poor husband who sits by and silently witnesses the drunken love-making of his wife and her rich lover receives no respect for his restraint. A spoiled and wealthy woman may forbid her "favorite" the house; she may take his horses and disinherit him if she disapproves of his marriage. A woman less economically secure, even if she is known as "manly-hearted," may uphold the authority of her "favorite" at all cost, as the one sure means of maintaining family prestige.

The advantages of a good marriage are quickly recognized. A wealthy Pointed Plume will say, "All women chase a rich man." A poor William Curtis will say, "A man should marry his daughter to someone who can take care of her."

But the changing status of various groups within Blood society is strikingly revealed by an analysis of marriage trends. Thirty years ago marriages still followed the earlier pattern. The wealthy cattle men continued

to select mates from their own circles. The poor married each other; half-breeds married half-breeds[150] or orphaned members of the tribe. Sometimes, it is true, an ambitious but poor young man succeeded in marrying a wealthy but considerably older woman; sometimes a father of a poor but beautiful daughter succeeded in marrying her off to a wealthy husband; sometimes a rich herder preferred a poor son-in-law whose labor he could exploit. But the lines remained clearly drawn. Rarely were the "newly rich" able to crash the "old society."

Today another trend is visible. Numerous marriages have taken place between the children of the "newly rich" and the children of those cattle-breeding families who went into farming around 1910. These are the families that have cash incomes, good houses, good clothes, good automobiles. It is now the impoverished horse owner who is the undesirable. His children are marrying the poor and the orphaned.[151]

SUMMARY.—After a decade of prosperity, an accident of climate created a social upheaval among the Blood. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920 practically annihilated the cattle and reduced the erstwhile successful herder to penury, at least in terms of a money economy. But he still possessed sufficient horse wealth to validate his prestige as he had always done. His waning security, however, led to a compulsive buying of privilege, more particularly in the Horn Society, whose members' power to sorcerize may well have been an added inducement during this time of deprivation.[152]

The farmers suffered also, but only temporarily. With their profits from wheat they bought up the few remaining cattle, and made no effort to compete for recognition with their few horses. They continued to improve their land and buildings, to furnish their houses comfortably, to dress their wives and children in style. The drought and depression of the early thirties, however, forced many of them on the relief rolls of the agency. Discouraged they have ceased to cultivate their crops. Today, the better land is being concentrated in the hands of the few.

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[150] Most of the half-breeds on the Blood Reserve are the children of Indian women and white traders (see story of Revenge Walker, p. 11). They are known by the name of their father (Creighton, Davis, Gladstone, Beebe, etc.).

[151] No formal statistics on marriages were collected, but the present statement of trends seems justified by remarks of informants, direct observation, and an examination of marriages recorded by the agency census.

[152] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navajo Witchcraft*. Discussing a rise in the last two years "in the number of persons whom gossip accuses as witches," he writes: "While this increase . . . may also be connected with the relative economic prosperity of this interval, I am inclined to regard both the witchcraft and the ceremonial phenomena as alternative responses directed toward the preservation of a badly disturbed equilibrium." Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, *Psychological Characteristics of the Northeastern Indians*, MSS.

Among the Blood, more and more, wealth has become the determining factor in status, and increasingly it is wealth divorced from the old horse economy. The man with many initiations to his credit is still honored by a privileged seat at the left of his host, but it is with the successful man, be he herder or farmer, full-blood or half-breed, that the young men wish to identify.

IV. Some Further Changes in Social and Religious Institutions

Program and accident frequently effected radical changes in Blood economy and social stratification. Perhaps no less radical are the changes that occurred in such institutions as the bands, the men's societies, the women's society, and the bundle transfers. Like the former, they also reveal a rhythm that can only be understood in terms of historical events. Unfortunately, the shortness of our field trip and the inevitable incompleteness of our material, makes a detailed analysis impossible. Yet it seems worthwhile at this time to offer what descriptive and statistical data are at hand and to indicate the general direction of change, if not the numerous oscillations in the line.

Bands

The bands existing today are (1) Fisheaters, (2) Pacer-Fisheaters, a split-off, (3) Black-Elks, (4) Lone-Fighters, (5) Followers-of-the-Buffalo, (6) Many-Children, (7) Many-Tumors, (8) Hairy-Shirts.[153] Each has its own head, excepting the Followers-of-the-Buffalo and the Many-Children who recently "elected" one man to represent both of them. The Fisheaters are the largest and Blanket Man, their leader, is also "Treaty Chief," i.e., the recognized head of the tribe. His father, Crop-eared-Wolf, was the tribal leader before him, and before Crop-eared-Wolf the latter's stepfather, the famous Red Crow who signed Treaty No. 7 in 1877. Until then, according to an informant, he had merely been just another, though powerful, band chief.

Life now is sedentary, but the bands still tend to settle in separated locales. However, something over twenty years ago, when they moved from the Lower Reserve (in the north) because these fields were to be set aside for grazing or leased to whites, they did not all succeed in getting continuous strips on the Upper Reserve (in the south). Many individuals built

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[153] For a comparative list made shortly after 1910 see Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 21.

homes far removed from the band lands. A member of the Lone-Fighters said, "The bands are all mixed up now," and certainly it is true that a man would know to what band he belonged, but his information regarding others was frequently unreliable. Yet, at the Sun Dance in the summer of 1939, the bands took their places in the camp circle in a recognized order: west to south, Fisheaters, Pacer-Fisheaters, Hairy-Shirts; south to east, Followers-of-the-Buffalo, Many-Children; east to north, Lone-Fighters; north, Many-Tumors; north to east, Black-Elks.

Even in the distant past the organization of the bands had been loose, and there is little evidence that this recent geographical dislocation weakened their cohesiveness to any substantial degree. It is even possible that the fixed dwellings made it more difficult to change from one to another. Band leadership, on the other hand, has been considerably modified both by political and economic change.

In the nomadic past, a leader's power depended upon strong support from family and band. For this he paid in "generous-giving." "No Blackfoot," writes Wissler, "can aspire to be looked upon as a head man unless he is able to entertain well, often invite others to his board, and make a practice of relieving the wants of his less fortunate band members."[154] Today, a band leader may be called upon to make decisions regarding leaseholds; he may influence the distribution of government property (one informant cynically observed that all the thirty wagons assigned to the tribe in 1939 found their way into the hands of the chiefs' relatives); he may be called in to help settle disputes; and barring malfeasance, he can expect to hold office for life. But—and this is the crux of the matter—the Canadian Government distributes the rations; the Canadian Government gives credit on seeds, stock, wagons, and tools. The Canadian Government frequently subsidizes the building of houses and barns. The need to support native leadership is obviously reduced.

Moreover, the early emphasis on individualistic behavior has survived. For this reason, the implementation of a government program does not depend entirely on the assistance of a tribal intermediary, such as the community leader of the Navaho,[155] the pueblo priests or their secular surrogates. Among the Blood, when chiefly authority fails to win cooperation, the Administration can still hope for success by appealing directly to interested members of the tribe.

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[154] *Ibid.*, p. 23. Cf. also Lewis (*op. cit.*, p. 42) who points out that the authority of chiefs in the buffalo period increased when they had a monopoly of the fur trade and weakened when they were faced with intra-tribal competition.

[155] Solon T. Kimball and John H. Provinse, *Navajo Social Organization in Land Use Planning*, pp. 18–25.

Men's Societies

In the buffalo period, these age-graded organizations were the chief agents of tribal discipline.[156] They maintained order in the camp and on the march; they policed the communal hunts; they destroyed the tipi of anyone who pursued the game before the word was given; they publicly ravaged and, at times, killed the unfaithful wife or promiscuous sister of a fellow-member if he so requested. And probably as a corollary to these significant functions, the men's organizations, within their respective age-grades, developed a solidarity that was in striking contrast to the general brittleness of Blood relationships.

One tie in Blood society is sacred—the tie between a man and his *taka*, his special friend. The choice of a boon companion is made in childhood; it is upheld throughout life. It is determined by age, by propinquity, and social position. In the past, *taka* shared the trials of hunt and war and a woman's favors before marriage. Today of necessity the last alone remains a test of friendship, but *taka* still use each other's kinship terms: the mother of one becomes the mother of the other, the sister of one, the sister of the other, and they assume the responsibilities implied in these and similar relationships.

Within the men's societies, alternate grades know each other as "fighters," but those who are members at the same time call each other *taka*. The term bespeaks the mutual loyalty expected of them. As a group they buy into a society; as a group they sell out. Wissler writes, "this companionship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot scheme."[157]

But while the members or *taka* preserve a solid front within their age-grade, the societies themselves retain little of their former importance. There are no more communal hunts; there are no more protected marches. Only at the Sun Dance, when the bands gather to raise the sun pole and make their transfers do the societies operate as of old. For the rest, they function as social and ceremonial entities, interested primarily in feasting and exchange.

In 1939, a sampling of 305 adult males (practically the entire adult male population) showed that, at some time, 205 had been members of the Pigeons, 189 of the Brave Dogs, 68 of the Braves, 23 of the Black Seizers, 25 of the Crow Carriers, 4 of the Crazy Dogs, 130 of the Horns, 1 of the

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[156] For a full discussion of these societies, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365–460; for age grades and police power, pp. 365–70; for general pattern, p. 424 ff.

[157] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

Seizers.[158] Excepting for the Horns, who present a special problem, membership falls off noticeably in the upper grades. This may well have been the tendency in the pre-reserve period, for increasing age, limited bundles,[159] and selective memberships[160] were all considerations then. They figure equally prominently in the reserve period; but with the introduction of a money economy divorced from a horse economy, a large sector of the population voluntarily cut itself off from ceremonial purchase. Successful farmers, who had only enough horses for their agricultural needs, were unwilling to jeopardize their profits by paying out valuable animals for old-time "respect." From 1910–1920, the wealthy horse and cattle owners (who at that time also had sufficient cash) were little concerned with this heretical attitude; but their almost unrelieved poverty since 1920 (except for horses) has made them more sensitive to the continued refusal of this group to participate in the traditional way. In 1939, though waning membership was not an issue, the Horn Society exerted tremendous pressure on the richest farmer to join its ranks. His two fine teams and well-rigged buggy, his bolts of cloth and many blankets made an impressive display at the public transfer. But he himself showed little appreciation of the honor accorded him. "Blackmail," he called it, and his complaints both before and after initiation were many and loud.

The Pigeons, the youngest of the graded societies,[161] are having difficulties too, but these are difficulties of membership. Ideally, each group is supposed to sell out after four years, but the present owners have had to hold their bundles for more than seven. The younger men are reluctant to make even the nominal payment of "$5.00 and a couple of blankets," for the questionable advantage of traditional privilege.

A combination of factors has contributed to the exceptional popularity of the Horns: (1) they merged with the Bulls, thus increasing the number of memberships available; (2) only in this society do the wives join with

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[158] These data and those which follow on the Women's Society, Sun Lodge builders, medicine pipes and beaver bundles were collected in the main by Marjorie Lismer and Harry D. Biele. Unfortunately, limited time and the great size of the reserve made extensive checking impossible. They are offered here, not as a completely accurate record, but in the belief that, in a general way, they reflect certain broad social trends.

For comparison, cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365–6 and 369. For an early list of Blackfoot societies, see Maximilian, *op. cit.*, p. 255 ff.

[159] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 386.

[160] *Idem.*

[161] Wissler has made a point for society rank based on "assumed seniority in historical origin" (*Blackfoot Societies*, p. 368). Such an assumption would be strengthened by the position of the Pigeons who are not listed by Wissler as late as 1910 for the Blood.

their husbands; (3) each prospective buyer has a partner (formerly these were bachelors, often not more than boys, whose families were willing and able to "see them through"); (4) members of the Horn are the most feared group among the Blood (those who buy the "painted root"[162] can sorcerize, but even the lesser members, it is believed, have power "so great that to wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed for realization"[163]); (5) adultery, a great tension point in the culture, is sanctioned in the Horns (individual sorcery power can only be acquired after the seller has had ceremonial intercourse with the buyer's wife); (6) jealousy is proscribed (self-control for the Blood is difficult at best, but its achievement by members of the Horn brings great social approval); (7) the Horns are now the oldest ranking society. Those who have been through it can go no further, but many can and do rejoin it.

Of the 130 who have been members at some time,

61 have bought in once
33 have bought in twice
22 have bought in three times
11 have bought in four times
1 has bought in six times
2 have bought in eight times.

Despite Catholic injunctions against joining the Horns (because of the ceremonially sanctioned adultery), and despite the lack of interest on the part of those without horses, the demand for Horn bundles seems to be greater than the supply. While others find no bidders or are falling in value (the Long Time Pipe which sold for a hundred and for fifty horses at an earlier time, sold for twenty in 1939), the leader's lance of the Horn Society that same year brought fourteen horses and much goods, the approximate cost.[164] Wissler quoting a Piegan's statement made shortly after 1910 writes:

Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and purchased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse.The next summer he

[162] *Ibid.*, p. 413. Wissler calls this prairie-turnip.

[163] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[164] Harry D. Biele notes that twenty-two horses were promised but that considerably fewer were delivered.

joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a gun, a saddle, and many blankets.[165]

Ordinary memberships in the Horn today bring no less. Many bring considerably more. The society's transfer ceremony was the most spectacular event at the Sun Dance.

Dance Societies[166]

A number of these associations still flourish on the reserve. Their membership problems are not formidable since their purpose is social and their fees nominal, mostly contributions of food at the time of the dance.

The Women's Society[167]

The *Matoki*, as the Women's Society is called, raised their lodge at the Sun Dance and, assisted by six men—four singers and two messengers—climaxed a four-day ceremony by imitating buffalo driven into the park. In 1939, fifteen women participated, all of them well beyond their prime. The leader's pole which, according to Mr. Duvall, cost "twelve horses and an appropriate amount of other property" has not changed hands for forty years, although "like the horns and other societies the members sell, or transfer, to others usually . . . at the same time."[168]

The Sun Lodge

With the exception of three years, the Sun Lodge has been raised annually since 1910, sixteen women vowing it, sometimes two of them jointly:[169]

1 woman vowed the Sun Lodge but did not put it up
10 women put up the Sun Lodge once (one year two jointly)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge twice
2 women put up the Sun Lodge three times (one, once with a woman who raised it five times)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge four times
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge five times (four times since 1929 alone and once with one of the women who raised it three times)

The demand for chastity before marriage and fidelity after may have eliminated a goodly number, but one informant felt sure that that was not

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[165] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 426 ff.
[166] *Ibid.*, p. 451 ff.
[167] *Ibid.*, p. 430 ff.
[168] *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 432.
[169] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes. For a full discussion of the Sun Dance and the building of the Sun Lodge, see Wissler, *The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 220–270.

the only reason for the limited participation: "There are a lot of women on this reserve who could put up a Sun Lodge, but don't want to." While their virtue might be unassailable, she was convinced that they either could not muster enough wealth, or did not care to meet the considerable demands for buying the *natoas* bundle,[170] putting up the lodge and staging a give-away.

The rewards of chastity unsupported by property are limited indeed. In 1939, the Sun Lodge vower only gave two horses away. The transferrer asked by an interested bystander how he "had come out," laughed and answered, "I never did as badly as this time." The crowd, well-aware that there was to be no give-away, showed little interest in the proceedings. When the great moment arrived, the sun pole could barely be raised; most of the men preferred to dance the Owl Dance, that aid to flirtation and liaison. But the conspicuous display at the transfer of Horn Society memberships two days earlier had drawn a large and expectant company.

Bundles[171]

The costs, limited memberships available, and unappealing demands of such a society as the Crazy Dogs were clearly deterrents to participation, but nevertheless an impressive proportion of the adult male population bought into the cheaper (younger) organizations, and for special reasons into the Horns. The ownership of medicine pipes and beaver bundles is much more restricted. Only thirty, or less than one-tenth of the group sampled, bought pipes at all:

25 bought 1 pipe
1 bought 2 pipes
2 bought 3 pipes
2 bought 4 pipes

Only six have bought beaver bundles:[172]

3 bought 1 bundle
3 bought 2 bundles

Of the first group, one had also purchased a medicine pipe; of the second, one had purchased four.

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[170] It is possible to vow the Sun Lodge without buying the *natoas* bundle. Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, pp. 241, 246.

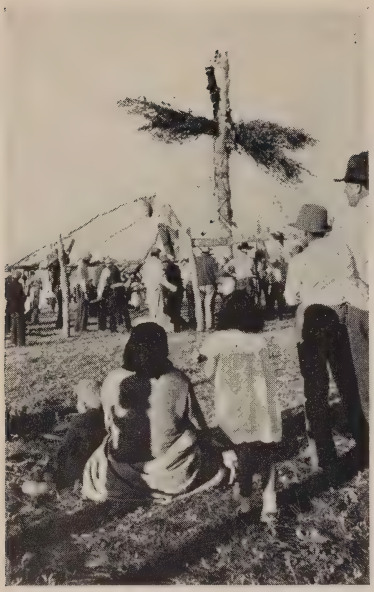
[171] Many other types than those discussed here were in circulation. For full descriptions, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, passim.

[172] Wissler (*Blackfoot Bundles*, p. 169), writes in 1912: "At present beaver bundles are to be found among the divisions except the Blood, among whom they have not been particularly popular for a long time."

HOMESTEAD 1939

GRANDMOTHER FEEDS
HER GRANDDAUGHTER

DRYING BEEF



RAISING THE SUN POLE

SUN LODGE

CAMP CIRCLE

Favorite Child Ready for the Owl Dance

Mounted on a Painted Horse, the Long Time Pipe on his Back

Head Chief's Wife in Painted Tipi

Crowds Gathering
for the Transfer Ceremony of the Horn Society

New Members of the Horn Society Parade Their Insignia

The turnover in these important pipes and bundles is not great and prices fluctuate considerably.[173] The man who has paid a large number of horses is frequently loathe to relinquish his bundle for fewer animals. It was many years before the last buyer to pay a hundred horses for the Long Time Pipe was ready to let it go for fifty. The woman who bought the *natoas* bundle in 1929 put up ten horses, one heifer, a set of harness and a saddle. In 1939, she still owned the bundle.[174]

The initial expense, however, is but a small part of the total cost. Further ritual knowledge enhances the value of the bundle, but while this may bring a good return in the future, it must be paid for in the present. Moreover, the owners of certain bundles are expected to open them and feast all previous owners sometimes as often as once a month. For some these additional obligations are too onerous. All four owners of beaver bundles participate in the general ceremony, but only one possesses the knowledge necessary to conduct it. His bundle is considered the most powerful.[175]

All bundle owners are members of societies, but five, each of whom had purchased only one bundle, did not join the Horns. Pressure from the Church, the loss of horses, or the complete acceptance of white goals may account for this unusual behavior. Whatever the reasons for these particular lapses, it is also an interesting fact and an index of changing values that the sons of bundle owners and society members have not always followed in their fathers' footsteps. They have not always joined societies or purchased ceremonial objects.

Those who buy ceremonial privilege consider the gain against the cost. When Harvey Fleet Foot, a young and ambitious farmer, was at "death's door" shortly after the serious illness of his small son, he dreamed that he should vow a pipe. Only then would he and his family be protected from further harm. Since no special pipe was mentioned in the dream, he sought advice from an old medicine man and Horn priest, his father's brother, and from his father-in-law, a substantial cattle and horse owner and farmer. The two old men agreed to back Harvey, "if he followed the voices of the spirit." They decided that he should vow the Long Time Pipe. Said the medicine man, "As long as you can pay for it, you might as well vow the strongest pipe." And Harvey Fleet Foot, aided by his rich father-in-law, bought the Long Time Pipe for twenty horses and other goods.

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[173] Bradley (*Characteristics*, p. 265), writing before 1877, comments, "In value they were computed at about nine horses." Lewis (*Effects of White Contact*, p. 44 ff.), basing his conclusions on Major Culbertson believes that before 1850 "the number of bundle transfers was less frequent and the property exchanged much smaller." Wissler (*Blackfoot Bundles*, p. 277) writes: ". . .whereas. . .medicine pipes formerly required but two or three horses, they now often go to thirty head."

[174] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes.

[175] *Ibid.*

The final public gesture was revealing. After a ceremonial capture and days spent in negotiation, the concluding phase of the transfer was reached. Mounted on a painted horse and carrying the pipe on his back, Harvey returned to the tipi of the seller. Outside were ranged the horses to be paid. In due time, the seller emerged, danced up a small aisle opened by the spectators, scrutinized the horses carefully, and slowly nodded his acceptance. The bargain was struck. In this business-minded community a seller is not always satisfied, however; then additional horses must be brought in or the deal is called off even at this late hour.

Buying a bundle is a protection, a responsibility, a means of enhancing prestige, and a speculation. But—symptom of the changing times—ceremonial consummation may have to wait: Harvey Fleet Foot held up the Sun Dance for three days. He had to cultivate his fields.

V. Some Further Aspects of Contemporary Interpersonal Relations

Men and Women

Women as a class have benefited from reserve life for the white man's law now protects their property and person. Serious assault and murder are severely punished. As early as 1883, one agent noted the results with a certain regret: "As the old law of cutting off a woman's nose for leaving her husband is done away with, women do as they like."[176] And desertion no longer relieves the erring husband of all responsibility. But it must be admitted that official interference in this last, though encouraged by the outraged wife, has proven none too effective; the abandoned woman and her children usually return to her parents for consolation and support.

The law has also favored women in matters of inheritance. In an earlier day, most of them, to be sure, owned some property; a few, through gift or medicine power, owned considerable, and in the late buffalo period, many seem to have expected a substantial share in the paternal inheritance.[177] Wissler, writing in 1910, observes, " . . . nothing goes to the widow. She may, however, retain her own personal property to the extent of that brought with her at marriage. She may claim, though not always with success, the offspring of her own horses."[178] Today, "though not always with success," she claims a good deal more. Bulwarked by white example and force, she demands not only a stake in her father's estate but in her husband's as well.

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[176] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[177] See story of Red Crow's sister, Revenge Walker, p. 11 ff.

[178] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 27.

In 1808, Henry wrote in his journal, "The women appear to be held in slavery and stand in awe of their husbands."[179] Their work, was indeed hard and long. They cooked the meals, treated the skins, sewed them into clothing and tipi coverings, raised and lowered these cumbersome shelters, and saw to the transportation of family goods on the march. "The young men," again comments Henry, "appear proud and haughty, and are particular to keep their garments and robes clean. The women are a filthy set."[180]

Yet even in this hunting and raiding society of the past, women enjoyed a comparatively strong position—and this despite their onerous duties, the payment of a bride price, the continual suspicion and accusation of adultery, the harsh punishment for a breach of fidelity.[181] For in those not too distant days, a woman could lead a war party; she could be designated a favorite; she could own property, receive and exercise medicine power, and give names. She was a necessary part of every ceremonial transfer; she was the custodian of the bundles that her husband bought. The public initiation of the Horn Society still dramatizes the man's dependence. It is the wife who receives the power from the seller. Her husband can only gain possession from her.

Above and beyond the pressure of the reserve, the Blood woman has maintained this early importance. Although differently expressed, she is today, as she was in the past, a valuable asset. Her tanning and bead-work make a great show on ceremonial occasions; she runs her husband's home and participates in his transactions; she keeps her earnings and has considerable say about his; she chooses her partner in the social dance; she is still a necessary adjunct to his ceremonial life. Undeterred by the threat of punishment, she accepts flirtatious advances and often initiates them. She is secure in her womanhood.

But like the man, it is the rich woman in particular, although sometimes the beautiful one, who is arrogantly sure of herself. A rich woman is spoiled and demanding. A beautiful one will not hestitate to take another woman's husband or flaunt her lover before her own when he cannot satisfy her with handsome clothes. Rich or poor, she may leave her husband at will; but the fathers of the poor are apt to urge their daughters to remain, while fathers of the rich have frequently been known to take them home "because their husbands didn't treat them right."[182]

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[179] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, p. 526.

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 525.

[181] *Ibid.*, p. 572. Cf. also Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 253; Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 271; and Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 10 ff.

[182] *Ibid.* Wissler quotes a Piegan as saying, ". . .if a man who gives a few presents or pays nothing becomes exacting, the woman's relatives will remark that as he paid little or nothing he should desist; they may even take her away and find another husband for her."

Some few women on the reserve are called "manly-hearted."[183] They come, with one exception, from families rich in horses. The exception, significantly, is a half-breed whose antecedents had neither property nor prestige. However, her aggressive personality and her present success—she is now the wife of a chief and in good circumstances—make her inclusion in this group completely acceptable to the Blood.[184]

In many respects the behavior of these women resembles the behavior of men of wealth, but the essential pattern of their lives always remains safely within the framework set for women as a sex. A manly-hearted woman never wears men's clothing; she marries, and frequently she marries many times; she has children. But early in childhood she will exhibit her independence and aggressiveness. She will strike other children who are older and bigger; she will even strike an older brother who is a privileged "favorite." She will visit around and stay out over-night though other girls remain obediently at home. She may make advances in affairs of the heart; she may refuse to marry the man of her father's choice; she will marry in her own time, and she will not hesitate to beat off an irate husband. She is usually an excellent worker. This as well as her passionate response to love make her a desirable mate despite her wilfulness and domineering ways.

It is on the strength of her total personality that a woman is called manly-hearted, and the category covers a considerable range of behavior. Some may become vowers of the Sun Lodge, and their sexual aggressiveness may be tempered by the "chaste" life required of them.[185] Others may believe that their status depends upon building up a "favorite," even if he dominate them; still others may feel sufficiently secure in their own wealth to dominate their "favorite."[186] Trends of behavior observable among women of wealth are intensified in the manly-hearted woman. While frequently disparaged, they make her, paradoxically enough, even more desirable.

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[183] Lewis has reported that there are fourteen manly-hearted women on the North Piegan Reserve (*Manly-Hearted Women among the North Piegan*, p. 176). The Blood, whose population is more than double that of the North Piegan, cited only nine (Harry D. Biele, Field Notes). It is possible that due to the spread of wealth, those personality traits that distinguish the manly-hearted woman have become so general in certain groups of Blood, that the special designation seems of lesser significance. For an example in the past, see Red Crow's sister, Revenge Walker, p. 11 ff.

[184] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 177. Here Lewis claims that such an upstart would never be classified among the manly-hearted women by the Piegan.

[185] I know of no manly-hearted woman vowing the Sun Lodge in bravado, fully aware that her former life made her ineligible to do so. For a contrary statement, see Lewis (*op. cit.*, p. 184). However, there are instances among the Blood where a woman was forced against her will to make the vow so that her husband might be sure of her virtue. Such sins do not go unpunished. (See story p. 51.)

[186] See pp. 65 ff.

If the manly-hearted woman is regarded as a product of established and traditional wealth, "Miss Wells' girls" illustrate the possibility for mobility within the more recent society. Half-breeds, most of them, and without inherited property, these "girls," now in their late forties, were sent to school at an early age and only rarely spent their holidays with their Indian relatives. When other children returned to their parents, this unwanted group went off with their teacher to a summer camp where they worked and experimented in cooperative living. Miss Wells understood her girls. She mothered them and imbued them with enthusiasm for white ways. They, in turn, loved and respected her. Today these "girls" are the most progressive women of their generation—and the most ambitious. Several assisted at the school after "graduation." One earned her living as a dressmaker in a white community. Later she returned to become the first and only independent woman farmer on the reserve. It is to this group that the up-and-coming wheat farmers, mostly half-breeds themselves, have looked for wives. These farmers are now the "newly rich," and two of them have been elected band chiefs.

Many women enjoy independent earnings, but these have never been great enough to radically affect their social status. Now, as in the past, vertical mobility is achieved through advantageous marriage. Marriage, however, plays a lesser rôle in the life of the woman of wealth. A union with the son of a rich family naturally cements her position; but a union with a poor man does not, ipso facto, lower it. On the contrary, her property can be used to enhance his earning power and prestige. If he is industrious, both will gain; if he proves unsatisfactory, she can cast him off and with little difficulty find a more deserving mate. Few women, however, have much property. Most of them, despite the privileges they enjoy, shine in reflected glory in this dominantly masculine society. In childhood, their status depends upon their fathers' status, in adulthood, upon their husbands'. Significantly, and in contrast to feminist practice in the Pueblos, a Blood woman is always known after marriage by her husband's name.

Jealousy.—While this male dominance is indisputable, it gives small comfort to the man on the reserve, for jealousy is one of the most disruptive forces in Blood human relations. The woman is still considered a form of property, property that is as necessary to success today as it was in the polygamous past. Then the younger wives were known as "uncertain wives," and lapses in matrimonial duty received summary and harsh treatment. Writing in 1832, Maximilian comments, "They generally punish infidelity in their wives very severely, cutting off their noses in such cases. . . . When ten or twelve tents were together, we were sure to see six or seven women mutilated in this manner. . . . There have been frequent instances of a husband immediately killing his wife, when she had had intercourse with

another."[187] More leniency was shown to the partner in sin. Maximilian continues, "Often he avenges himself on the paramour, takes away his horse or other valuable property, to which he must submit quietly."[188] Today infidelity, or suspicion of it, are also severely punished. Beatings are frequent; one old lady still carefully conceals her mutilated face behind her shawl; and Big Head, recently released from prison, killed his wife because rumors of her misconduct had reached him during his confinement.[189]

Absence from home is perhaps the greatest threat to a man's marital peace. His present fears echo attitudes of the past, grounded in an economy that made more or less long separations between husband and wife inevitable. The small raiding or hunting parties, which might include the husband, left plenty of men available for romance. Today, although life is more sedentary, dwellings are isolated. A few hours in the field, a trip to town, are enough to kindle the flame. But it is the jail sentence, that frequent experience, which most nearly approximates the extended absences of a former time. Legal protection from a surprise return adds to the safety of wifely adventure; it also intensifies the fears of the ever-suspicious husband.

Some few women are notoriously jealous of their husbands, but primarily it is the men who exhibit the greatest sexual insecurity. A man who shows no jealousy is considered brave; yet a young mother eager to see her son of six become a good fighter will proudly encourage him when he shakes his fist in fury at an old medicine man whom he considers his "rival." From earliest babyhood, a child is exposed to the violent quarrels of his parents. He hears his mother's virtue assailed; he sees his father beat her for misbehavior. Against such a background and such conditioning, traditionally desirable attitudes are achieved with difficulty. In this society, jealousy has become obsessional; even chiefs find it difficult to act within the prescribed pattern, and serious lapses are not unknown.

Few men trust their wives. A seemingly contented husband of twenty years will, at the first sign of anger, hurl accusations of infidelity at his mate. One husband refuses to permit his wife to remove her shawl in her own house for fear she will succumb to the casual advances of some passerby. Another will suspect his wife of indiscretions while he is busy not one hundred yards away; still another will insist that his wife ride a horse at his side (an unwomanly occupation) so he can keep her within sight. Some will refuse to enter the Horn Society, because they feel unable to suppress their jealousy, as they are expected to do during their term of membership. A man will quickly, and often with little reason, accuse a brother of being his wife's lover. "You may joke," they say, "with your *taka*'s wife, but if you

[187] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 253.

[188] *Idem.*

[189] Letter to Harry D. Biele in September, 1939.

joke with your brother's, it means you are in earnest." The only Blood confined to the insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having intercourse with a ghost. Many a husband, approaching his end, threatens his mate with death, for only when she accompanies him on his final journey can he be sure that in the next world he alone will possess her.

Husbands, who need proof of good behavior and who can afford to pay for it, may insist that their wives "vow the tongues"[190] or put up the Sun Lodge, for only those who are chaste before and faithful after marriage can do so with impunity. Sometimes, however, the pressure may be so great, that a woman must take a chance. Urged by her husband who remained unconvinced concerning her virginity at marriage, Weasel Girl distributed the tongues at the Sun Dance. Her husband's uncle, noting that she failed to mention the names of any men she had rebuffed, suspected her avowal, and threw his piece of meat to a dog at his side. Later that evening, this dog was shot while making off with a chicken. His alertness and caution had saved him, the uncle was certain, from a sure and untimely death. That Weasel Girl, herself, only lived three years longer was further evidence that she had lied.

Suspicion is not always without cause, as it may well have been in this instance. The most casual encounter, the social dances in the dance hall, even the Sun Dance, offer innumerable opportunities for illicit adventures, and these are not missed. Many a husband has found his wife with her lover. But so obsessed are they by their suspicions, that every possibility of adultery immediately becomes a fact.

Informal wife-lending among the Blood is inconceivable whether to a casual friend[191] or a life-long "*taka.*" Yet this act which cannot be tolerated in daily living, is ritually sanctioned when the sorcery roots are purchased by members in the Horn Society.[192] At this time, the wife of the buyer deposits her clothes in her husband's lap. Protected by a buffalo robe, she is taken to the tipi of the seller and ceremonially painted. She then "goes

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[190] Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, p. 234 ff.

[191] Henry in his Journal (vol. 2, p. 526) states that the Blackfoot were a "nuisance in offering women." Wissler (*Social Life*, p. 10) observes that he believes these women were captives.

[192] Among the neighboring Cree the opposite situation existed. They practised informal wife exchange. D. G. Mandelbaum (*The Plains Cree*, p. 246) writes: "This relationship reflected considerable honor upon the participants, for only the most stout-hearted men could become intimate companions of their wives' paramours." But in a ceremony called Sitting Up Until Morning (*ibid.*, p. 228) although the "warriors of one society issued invitations to the wives or daughters of the members of other societies" and "at dawn, the men washed and painted the women's faces,

on the sacred walk."[193] Returning, she gives the sinister root which she has received from her nocturnal partner to her uneasy husband.

The interval of waiting is among the greatest trials of the Blood. The anxious husband must show no jealousy during the "walk"; he must joke with his fellow members and suffer their teasing without taking offense. So great is this strain that some are unable to bring themselves to the test; others hire a substitute wife, although the added cost may be considerable.

The Blood are not overly engrossed with sorcery, perhaps because black magic may act as a boomerang, perhaps because hostility is quickly and overtly expressed, perhaps because their way of life brought numerous and tangible rewards. But some standard of values is suggested by the fact that the greatest power to hurt others is acquired by submitting to what they believe entails the greatest personal suffering—the possession of one's wife by another. Its institutionalization in the Horn Society in no way relaxes the sexual tensions among the people at large; it merely succeeds in heightening them for the few who want to purchase the most feared power available to the Blood.

Writing on the relations between Blackfoot men and women, Wissler observes, "We found no traces of the conventional modes of registering conquests as among the young men of the Dakota and Village Indians."[194] Victims of a monotonous poverty, these more easterly tribesmen readily transferred a symbol from their glamorous past to the one remaining area of competition, sex. The counting of coups over amorous successes may well have seemed unnecessary, and even ridiculous, to the more exuberant Blood whose daily routines gave them many other ego satisfactions.

Marital Instability.—Psychopathic possessiveness and aggressive behavior, however, offer a poor foundation for a satisfactory or enduring marriage. In 1909, a worried agent, after discussing the difficulties arising from drink, observed, "The morality question is at present a more serious one on this reservation, the transgressors very principally young married people who, after quarrelling separate and insist upon availing themselves of the old tribal right to take other partners."[195] The instability of early marriage can be easily documented. A Dancing Bird, beautiful if undiscriminating, consoled ten "husbands"; a wilful Mary Red Bear boasted

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combed their hair, and gave them a gift. . .no sexual license is permitted during this occasion."

The attitudes and values of the two tribes are nicely revealed in the following incident from a tale: A Blackfoot visiting a Cree makes him a present of a horse. In return, the Cree offers him his wife.

[193] Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 413 ff. Also Harry D. Biele, Field Notes.

[194] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 9.

[195] 1909, Vol. 43, No. 15, p. 169.

at least two unions before she settled down with the youngest son of a wealthy chief.

But even a long interlude of adaptation may end in abandonment. A Bob Double Man still believes in loving and leaving; a Pointed Plume, after an alliance of twenty-two years, again sows his wild oats; a Henry Dennis deserts his wife and seven young children for a younger and handsomer woman; and a Mrs. John White Bull changes partners at will, returning unconcernedly to a cast-off husband when a new one proves unsatisfactory.

Many, however, stick it through; but within the frame of a monogamous marriage, they are able to reëstablish the polygamous past with considerable success. Not infrequently a woman, whose husband is safely behind prison bars for drunkenness or cattle stealing or assault, will spend the time of waiting with an "interested" and hospitable relative. Her position in his household is not unlike that of the "second wife" in an earlier day. She may, now as then, give needed domestic aid, but more often she remains a demanding and quarrelsome interloper fighting the "legal" wife for the husband's favor.

When a more stable relationship is sought without disturbing the formal bonds of marriage, a mistress's husband may also be invited into the home as farm worker or cattle hand. He watches his arrogant employer delight his wife with gifts and make love to her in drunken orgies. To him, dignified silence at these spectacles establishes his bravery; to them, he remains a weakling to be ignored and laughed at.

Most often, however, separation, either permanent or temporary, is the ready answer to incompatibility. From the standpoint of familial stability, the latter may well be the more devastating. One detailed description of alternating breaks and reunions follows:

In the four months that Pointed Plume was living with his "new wife" Laura and her baby daughter, they separated as many times. Twenty years his junior, small, compact, but looking his contemporary, she industriously prepared his meals, jerked the meat, made pemmican, preserved the fruits, and did the family washing. A neighbor said, "Pointed Plume's new wife is a good worker. She likes to please the old man. She does everything for him." But another commented, "They are not getting on very well. Laura's first marriage with Big Shield broke up because she was so jealous; her marriage with Tom Bacon broke up for the same reason. Now after three months she is accusing White Plume of running with other women. She even suspects him when he is paid to drive a man and his wife to town in his car." The neighbor spoke from intimate knowledge. After quarreling with her husband, Laura had been set down along the roadside. On reaching Cardston she rushed to the parked car, and shouted at her astonished neighbor who was sitting there alone, "Pointed Plume and your wife are sweet-

hearts." After this public exhibition, she jumped into the front seat, quietly to await her mate's return. When Pointed Plume saw her there, he climbed in beside her, and conforming to Blackfoot custom in crises, "said nothing." The friend, however, made his own deductions. "They won't stay together long," he observed to his wife.

Nor did they. Several weeks afterwards, coat-tails flying in the early morning breeze, swinging a valise and preceded by his two small granddaughters who had been staying with him, White Plume hurried down the gully to a relative's house. In his tent sat Laura, badly beaten and bruised. "Pointed Plume," she said, "is a very *jalose* man. Even if he is rich, I do not want to stay with him." The day before, Joe Curtis, just separated from his young wife and on his way to visit his mother, had passed Laura's tent. She emphatically denied that he had entered, but her protestations did nothing to allay her husband's suspicions. He took the usual painful measures.

When Laura and her daughter were finally set down at her relatives, Frank Newall who was working outside just looked up and "said nothing." It was all in a day's work to have a woman and child dropped on your doorstep before ten in the morning.

A few days later she was back. Again she was beaten and left. Again she returned, this time beautifully dressed and bedecked with jewelry. Apparently, she had made a new decision: it was good to live with a rich man, even if he were "*jalose.*"

It may be that this is an extreme case, that Pointed Plume and Laura were both unusually suspicious, that Pointed Plume was particularly irascible and violent. But they were not the only ones among our friends who settled matrimonial difficulties during our stay by separation and, at times, reunion.

Marion Curtis was deposited one night at her parents' house by an angry husband. It was whispered that he had found her standing compromisingly close to his farm hand. A week later, after a consoling interlude at a rodeo, he returned. Without further explanation, Marion announced that she was leaving with him that night.

The seemingly happy marriage of Joe Duck-Bill suddenly went on the rocks. So did that of a neighbor's son. A good friend confided her desire to leave her ailing husband. He volunteered that in years past she had done so more than once.

How basic a security can develop in such a turbulent atmosphere is difficult to determine. But despite frequent quarrels and separations, despite a limited emphasis on such socially desirable virtues as cooperativeness, mutual trust and loyalty, marriages of ten, fifteen, and twenty years dura-

tion are not uncommon. It may be that a quick adaptability when the game is worth the candle assures a reasonable stability in this brittle society.

Children and Adults

Quoting Harmon in his Journal, Henry writes: "To see a house full of drunken Indians, consisting of men, women, and children, is a most unpleasant sight, for in that condition they often wrangle, pull each other by the hair, and fight. At some times ten or twelve, of both sexes, may be seen fighting each other promiscuously, until at last, they all fall on the floor. . . . To add to this uproar, a number of children, some on their mother's shoulders, and others running about and taking hold of their clothes, are constantly bawling, the elder ones, through fear that their parents may be stabbed, or that some misfortune may befall them in the fray."[196]

In 1939, we were the unwilling observers of a no less disturbing scene. Early on a clear moonlight night in August, loud shouts rent the air. Silhouetted against the canvas of the only tent in view, were the struggling figures of two men, the brothers Pointed Plume. Since their father's separation from his wife of more than twenty years, their loyalties had been engaged on opposite sides. Argument between them was frequent. This time, the fight, abetted by drink, grew wild and noisy. Pushing through the flap, the brothers tumbled into the open. The tug-of-war continued. Someone tried to start the car; doors banged; glass crashed. The young mothers holding tightly to their babes cried out; the older children shrieked in terror. The fight continued, this time again inside the tent. Finally, physical restraint (one brother was tied up with the able assistance of a brother-in-law) and exhaustion brought peace shortly after midnight.

By morning the car was gone. At seven, the little Pointed Plume girls, nine, and eleven, were industriously and silently removing broken glass, the only evidence of the previous night's hostilities. At eight, the family went off to the river for a quiet picnic.

In many respects, present-day conditions differ radically from those of Harmon's time: agriculture and herding have replaced hunting and food-gathering; living is sedentary and dwellings are scattered. Yet the basic individualism and unpredictable tempers that characterized the Blood a century and a half ago are still apparent today. And children are still exposed to conflict and violence.

Two young daughters of this same family were present when their grandfather beat up his new wife; his adopted "favorite" had witnessed his domestic differences with his old one. Several youngsters stood beside us

[196] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, footnote 21, Vol. 2, p. 575.

while their great-aunt struck their father with a tent-pin when he ordered her off his land. They heard their mother accuse her near-relative of sexual indiscretions; they joined their usually mild grandmother as she threw stones at her sister-in-law's departing car.

There can be little doubt that children are sensitive to such violent exhibitions, but their reactions vary considerably from situation to situation and from child to child. They may stand by seemingly unmoved, or they may join the fray with considerable enjoyment. They may shriek in fear, as the Pointed Plume children did the night their father and his brother fought so furiously. They may cry continuously, as the Dennis children did at school, because their parents' quarrels had frightened them so that they didn't want to return home while their father was there. Annie Curtis, a dignified informant of thirteen, gave it as her considered opinion that "girls minded their parents' quarrels more than boys."

This may well be so. Training and social sanctions make it easy for the boy to escape an uncongenial home situation. At an early age he learns to ride a horse, at ten he is expected to help his father on the range or in the field. His frequent absences from home cause little comment. Two independent males, one eight, one eleven, laughed at us when we suggested that they tell their mother we were taking them for a swim. Girls' work, on the other hand, ties them to the house. They tend their little brothers and sisters; they learn to cook, to sew, to do beadwork. Only a few have the hardihood to face the certain disapproval that descends upon them when they stay out over night, even at a relative's. Bound to their homes by work and convention, they are more exposed than their young brothers to parental quarrels. They may see themselves not only as the little mothers of today, but as the cruelly beaten wives of tomorrow.

Frequently there is no way for boy or girl to avoid an unpleasant scene; but whenever possible, a child will seek a refuge—for a short time if the trouble blows over quickly—for years if it does not. Nellie Bending-Branch lives with her grandmother because her parents quarrel so much. May Big Water has spent most of her days at her grandmother's largely because her father and stepmother fought so frequently. Pointed Plume's adopted "favorite" returned to her own parents when he and his wife quarrelled seriously before separation.

At times, a child is the terrified observer of parental conflict; at times, he is the unhappy victim of parental cruelty. Not infrequently, upon the remarriage of a mother, the children will remain with their grandparents, "because their stepfather might not be good to them." Stepmothers were viewed with equal misgivings, and not without cause. But there are also cases of children so mistreated by an own mother or father, that they have to be rescued by more compassionate, if more distant relatives.

"The Blackfoot are very fond of their children," wrote Maximilian in 1832;[197] and it would be utterly misleading if today we minimized the passionate warmth that most Blood lavish upon their children, particularly upon their younger offspring and their favorites. But where families are easily broken, where abandonment is not unusual, and where a child on his own initiative frequently seeks a parent substitute, the parent-child relationship necessarily lacks the intensity that distinguishes it in our culture. The trauma of separation is reduced as well as the child's resentment against the parent who has acted without much consideration for his well-being. Not that the hurt is forgotten nor even entirely forgiven, but a Julia Curtis will eagerly recount a visit to a mother who left her at nine to the ministrations of a paternal aunt and married a man on another reserve; a Ned Sloane will speak lovingly of the grandmother who urged that he be "thrown away" because he had caused his mother's death in childbirth; a Myrtle Pointed Plume will show no animosity toward her adopted father (actually her grandfather) although he insisted after she had spent eleven years as a *minipoka* in his household, that she remain with her own parents when he took another wife.

Early in childhood preference patterns are established and these function quickly in time of small strain or great crisis. One mother said that her eldest son always went to the home of his father's mother's sister when trouble was brewing; she herself spent much of her girlhood both before and after her mother abandoned her father, at her father's sister's. Another, speaking of her various children, said, "Myrtle is her grandfather Pointed Plume's favorite; Fanny is her grandfather William's favorite; Rosalie is her grandmother Julia's favorite; Harold is his father's favorite and Otis is mine." Only one, the eldest, was a true *minipoka* (she had been adopted by her paternal grandfather so he could more easily honor her and, what was equally important, continue to enhance his own prestige); but each of the others felt secure in his own brand of favoritism even if it was less ostentatiously expressed.

Despite their informal status, these lesser favorites expected the same privileged treatment from their warm supporters that true favorites received from theirs, and within reason they were not disappointed. When Julia's Rosalie, a child of seven, spilled water and came weeping to her grandmother because she was afraid her sister Myrtle *might* tell on her (which incidentally she showed no disposition to do), the grandmother's only comment as she took the little girl upon her knee was, "Myrtle is so spoiled."

Boys may find a haven with an older sister, but a young girl would hesi-

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[197] Maximilian, *Travels*, p. 252.

tate to enter a household where she is considered a "distant wife." In most instances, an aunt who has weathered the domestic storms of the early years of marriage, or a grandmother or great-aunt are the preferred relatives.

Adoption brings renewed hope of security to those children who have been orphaned or deserted, for the society deals none too kindly with these unfortunate ones. Frequently, they become slaveys in the families that take them in. Rarely, if ever, do they have an opportunity to make a "good" marriage. Once adopted, however, their status is immediately improved. They take their chances with the rest of the children. Some, like the youngest son of the old chief, Red Crow, may even be made an honored favorite. All expect to share in the family wealth.

Primarily, however, adoption serves the advantage of the older generation. A childless pair may take as their own the child of a fecund couple in the hope that then their union will be similarly blessed; or, having lost a loved one in death, the sad parents may feel that their only consolation lies in substitution. But to the question, "Why do you adopt children?" a Blood will most often answer, "We adopt children so someone will take care of us in our old age." And so important is this old age insurance that a poor child will be sought in preference to one with property: "If a child has property, he will leave us when he grows up." In this competitive society, the old have little confidence that the man of property will share it with them, even if he is an adopted son.[198]

The child, who probably never felt too secure at home, is now separated from his parents when he is six or eight and placed in one of the two sectarian boarding schools on the reservation. If his home is nearby, he may have visitors but most of the children, at least in the winter months, have little if any contact with their relatives. Some remain at school the year round. For all, however, it is a partial break with Blood tradition and culture.

Ironically enough, in this increasingly individualistic society, it is these boarding schools that offer the most extended experience in joint living and cooperation. Among other things, they have encouraged the girls to take *taka*. But their general emphasis is so contrary and their strict authoritarianism so foreign to the normal patterns of Blood life that their socializing influence is negligible. To a few children they have been havens from abuse or family discord, but even those who have benefited most from prolonged schooling (because they were poor or orphaned) suit their behavior in later life, not to their teachers' precepts, but to their social station.

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[198] K. A. Wittfogel (*Wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Entwicklung der Familienautorität*, pp. 491, 506) points out that lack of security in old age is frequent in societies where the satisfaction of basic needs depends on "physical strength" rather than on "careful thought and accumulated experience."

At school a child is cut off from his home. At home, because of the distances between homesteads, he is cut off from the easy companionship of his age-grade, a companionship that developed naturally in the play camps of an earlier day and remained a continuing force for stability in the community. But even more disconcertingly, he is frequently cut off from those favored relatives from whom he expects unquestioning affection and support, while at the same time he is more intensely exposed to familial dissension. In time of trouble he still escapes, but often the only comfort possible is "going outside" and fighting it out alone, a convenient though perhaps not entirely satisfactory preparation for manhood.

Escape, in this violent society, is a necessary mechanism to relieve tension; but it is also a simple way to avoid responsibility. When Pansy Curtis cut her brother's neck while trimming his hair, she bound it with a towel and ran off to the house of her father's aunt without telling anyone; when she put all her aunt's fresh meat through the chopper instead of hanging it up to dry, she left her small cousin to bear the blame and hastened off to her father in the fields. When Charlie Bruce hacked off his sister's thumb, he stuck it on with axle grease and ran away before his grandmother returned; when he finished slaughtering a new-born calf before his admiring playmates, he left them to confess the crime and hurried to a forgiving aunt.

Patterns of escape established in childhood are repeated in adult life. Most situations are met by avoiding blame, shifting it, running away. The man who murdered his wife in 1939, immediately left his house to visit a neighbor. There he exhibited his gashed hand and said, "I got this while I was taking the butcher knife from my wife. She tried to kill me." But he failed to mention that she was lying mutilated and unconscious on the kitchen floor. The boy who was jailed for intoxication claimed that the bottle was not his and that he had not drunk a drop. When domestic conflict arises, either wife or husband leaves, sometimes temporarily, sometimes forever. Relatives and reserve may intervene, but "to go on a trip" is still the most favored solution in case of difficulty.

Siblings

The basic competitiveness of the society is frequently expressed in the sibling relationships. The institutionalization of the favorite inevitably creates an overtly rivalrous situation. Among the Teton Dakota, who call their privileged ones "child-beloveds," this situation for a variety of reasons is muted,[199] but among the Blood, the exploitation of the "child of plenty" for purposes of prestige has been completely uninhibited.

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[199] Goldfrank, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

Favorites are well aware of the envy their position arouses in their less petted brothers and sisters. One said,

> My father treated me with great affection. Others in the household obeyed him, but he often gave in to me. When I was little he carried me on his back so I wouldn't tire. He always took me with him and never said a mean word to me. Whenever I cried I was picked up immediately. When my mothers were cooking, I was allowed to go to the pot first and select the choicest morsel. All this showed I was a favorite son.
>
> I often fought with my little sister. Although my mother was sorry for her and sometimes tried to take her away when she was getting the worse of it, she would never punish or scold me. My sister always grabbed at my necklace. If she ripped it off, she would hide it, but my father always made her give it back to me. My sisters fussed about the special treatment I was getting. They were jealous and complained that our father wasn't treating them fairly.

Other unprivileged siblings have also been impelled to show their dissatisfaction. At a favorite's birthday feast attended by some fourteen old and respected members of society, a cake with candles (!) was proudly carried in. A young sister of the birthday child quickly blew them out. Neither the tearful protests of the *minipoka* nor a slap in the face diminished the unconcealed pleasure of the culprit. "If I blow out the candles," she said gleefully to the outraged favorite, "it is my birthday, not yours."

A little boy of six asked his father with pathetic eagerness, "Won't you have me for your *minipoka*, as my grandfather has my sister Myrtle?" Then gazing at his unshod feet, he added ruefully, "I cannot be a *minipoka*, I have no shoes." A stepson so resented the attention his stepfather lavished on his own daughters, who were favorites the "American way," that he left home to live with a married sister.

To be sure, not all families have favorites either in the traditional terms of in the "American way," but the pattern is so deeply ingrained in the struggle for wealth and recognition that it colors the thoughts and speech of many whose families have never been able to support a *minipoka*. One man went so far as to say, "A poor person might part with his last horse to buy a ceremonial object for his child in the hope that he would then be called a *minipoka*."

Rivalry, however, finds frequent expression even when "real" favoritism is not involved. A little girl of two threw her newborn brother from the bed and tried to strangle him. A young mother told how, as a child, she allowed her little sister's wagon to roll down hill, turn over, and spill the youngster in the mud because "she was so spoiled when she was sick." A grandmother recalled her resentment when her father gave a fine weasel-tail suit to an older sister and brought candy to a younger brother, despite the certain knowledge that food given to one sibling would surely be shared with all the others. A brother complained that his parents always gave in to his

sister and never did what he wanted. Many a son leaves his father's house to live with a married sister because he "can't get along with his brothers."

The age-grade is an important mechanism for solidarity, but alternate grades of the men's societies call each other "fighters." Their actions fulfill expectancy. One man, accused of beating his wife excessively, said in extenuation that he couldn't stand the taunts of his "fighters" who continually reminded him of her pre-marital promiscuity. The conflicts and insult techniques that rule between "fighters" are projected upon the family. Quarrels between young children are explained on this basis. A young boy of nine was tussling more or less playfully with his sister's son aged six. The father of the elder boy, who at the same time was the grandfather of the younger, said, "They just can't get along together. They are fighters." Brothers, merely because of age difference, frequently find themselves in opposite camps.

This institutionalization of hostility, however, only reinforces behavior patterns implicit in the basic structure of the society.[200] Rivalrous attitudes, rooted in the conflicting interests and individualistic goals that dominate the society as a whole, are freely expressed in childhood. They are strengthened by early training. They are nourished in adulthood by differences over property, whether in women, animals, or land. Some brothers have not spoken to each other for more than a decade. Mutual assaults are frequent and fraternal murder is not unknown. Familial attachment created no problem in loyalties for Yellow Wolf when he assisted in the police hunt for his notorious brother, Charcoal.

But when economic advantage demands cooperation, hostility may be repressed, if only temporarily. This same Charcoal, after a serious break with Yellow Wolf, joined his haying camp and accepted his leadership again. The White Plume brothers who beat each other up in the early part of the week camped together a few days later and brought in the wheat.

Childhood rivalries between sisters are more apt to be dissipated in later life. In the buffalo period, many an early antagonism was forgotten because the advantage of being a second wife in a sister's household overcame the disadvantage of continued proximity. In the monogamous present, distance mitigates if it does not completely resolve the friction: after marriage, a woman still generally goes to her husband's house.

Other aspects of housing also affect family relationships. In the past, no

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[200] From an anthropological viewpoint, see Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, p. 236; also Ralph Linton, *The Effects of Culture on Mental and Emotional Processes*, pp. 294, 295; also Bronislaw Malinowski, *Culture as a Determinant of Behavior*, particularly pp. 133–139. From a psychoanalytical viewpoint, see Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*, pp. 277–291; also Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, p. 188 ff.; also Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and his Society*, p. 55.

matter whether residence was patrilocal or matrilocal, it was customary for a young married couple to have their own tipi. Today, married children, because of the considerable expense and labor involved in building or buying a modern permanent dwelling, frequently bring their spouses into their parents' home. The arrangement inevitably increases the possibility of discord. If residence is matrilocal, the situation is further complicated by the traditional mother-in-law "avoidance." Some sons-in-law have ceased to observe this taboo either because it is inconvenient or "old-fashioned." While such a breakdown in restraint may lead to a better understanding between a man and his wife's mother, it may as easily lead to a more overt expression of hostility.

Distant Relatives and Friends

Where close familial bonds are so brittle, little can be expected from distant relatives. Henry Arrow-maker, owner of considerable grazing land but no cattle, is on government relief. He spoke eagerly of his rich relative, Bob Double Man, the successful cattle herder. He told of friendly conversations as they met casually in Cardston each week, but only during the summer as he went to and from the beet fields did he stay at Bob's house. The gifts received were nominal indeed: board and lodging for a few days.

Such qualities as hospitality and generosity are still stressed as desirables and even "musts" in the society, but since success depends little upon them, they receive more lip service than support. Friends and relatives still extend a cordial invitation, but the welcome quickly cools. With the best of will, the Curtises invited the Sloanes to stay with them and work with us. Within a few days, although the Sloanes paid board and brought presents, Julia Curtis was complaining of the extra work and maneuvering their early departure. Again, at the Sun dance, she complained that none of the guests who dropped in for meals gave her any assistance: "People expect everything these days," she added.

VI. Biographical Sketches

Brief and few though the following sketches are, they reveal in a different way, if not completely, the range of personality types among the Blood, the degree of adaptation to a changing society, and the varying responses to status.

The Men

Head Chief. Blanket Man, fifty-six, came of a line of head chiefs. His grandfather was the old chief, Red Crow, who had signed the treaty of 1877. His father, Crop-eared Wolf, succeeded to the chieftaincy. Blanket Man

and his younger brother, Charging Bull, were favorite children, but no amount of privilege diminished their childhood antagonisms. The brothers were jealous men, and the younger continually suspected, and probably not without cause, the elder of being his wife's lover. Their old father tried to intervene in their quarrels, but "being a little man, he was easily thrust aside." Separation alone could bring peace. Charging Bull settled on a large tract of land far from the family farm. Blanket Man, eager for recognition as a generous man, says he gave these acres to Charging Bull when their father died. "He was my younger brother, and I had enough already." But generosity did not heal the breach. Today the brothers speak only to continue the fight. In spite of prohibitions, even the head chief of the Blood will quarrel.

Blanket Man has no time to cultivate his inherited lands. His chiefly duties and efforts to achieve prestige in the traditional way are all-consuming. To the many honorings received in childhood he has added expensive bundles. He has been a member of the Horn Society eight times. No sooner does he sell out of one position, than he buys into another. He spends days getting contributions for give-aways at the winter dances. He eagerly participates in the tribal councils. He is invited to many feasts and his place of honor in the tipi of his host is assured.

At the Sun dance in 1939, he sat in his large decorated tipi, leaned against a fine backrest, that symbol of wealth in an earlier day, and received his visitors. His face was smeared with red ceremonial paint, but a cynical tribesman remarked, "His skin is so bad, he has to cover it." Although he was the head chief of the tribe, Blanket Man did not hesitate to beg his casual visitor for a white shirt and a few yards of calico. Today, this scion of the "First Family of the Blood" is on government relief.

The Straddler. Pointed Plume, fifty-six, straddles the old life and the new. The favorite son of a minor chief and a substantial cattle owner, he was ambitious enough to apply for farm land in 1910. As a result of his foresight, he has always been able to maintain a comfortable position. He wears his hair in braids but his clothes are modern and well cut; he speaks no English, but he drives a new Chevrolet, and he continues to validate his prestige in the traditional manner. He has joined many societies; he has bought the expensive Long Time Pipe; he has made his two sons and his eldest granddaughter, his *minipoka*; he has distributed horses and goods when his sister put up the Sun Lodge. He is certain that ceremonial participation and lavish spending have earned him "respect." Reluctantly, however, he will admit that this is not as great as it was twenty years ago; and more reluctantly, he will admit that his wealth is not what it used to be. But he will not admit the obvious relation between them.

The Impoverished Herder. Dave Big Water, fifty-four, was the favorite

child of a successful herder. In 1918, his father died of influenza and Dave himself was very ill. A hypochondriac as well as a petted son, Dave did little to maintain the family fortunes, which received another stunning blow in the cold winter of 1919. He continued to do a little haying, but in the falling market this gave but a meagre living. His energetic mother did what she could working in the beet fields, but it was not until 1930, when his adopted brother reached the age of twenty, and was willing to do most of the farm work, that Dave Big Water applied for a farm. In spite of this late effort the family fortunes have not risen.

Dave is a member of the Pigeons, Brave Dogs, Braves, Horns (three times). He has purchased the Black Seizer Pipe and today is the owner of a "medicine pipe." At the Sun Dance he was magnificent in a finely beaded buckskin that his mother had made for him. Many women invited him to dance; men watched for his arrogant nod of greeting. He gets "respect." But the community does not forget that his old mother and young brother are the not too successful bread-winners of the family. His older daughter was twenty-seven when she married, and she did not marry well; his younger daughter is not married at all. They say she is too much in love with a married man. Perhaps despite the "respect" that is given him, it does matter that Dave Big Water is poor today.

The Unrespected Poor. Bird Shooter, forty-seven, the son of a man "who could barely get along" played with the rich and favorite children. He likes to say he was one, but the community laughs at his claims. After hiring out to the Indian Department for some time, he was persuaded to farm independently. For three consecutive years he successfully cultivated the good land he received from the agency. Then, in the hope of enhancing his prestige as did the children of the rich, he bought a medicine pipe and paid out so many horses that he was forced to give up farming. When the pipe was sold, he joined the Horn Society. Never since has he worked his own land. Today he hires out to others or lives off his sons-in-law. His ritual knowledge brings him no return, "he is still too young." His ceremonial validation of his position has brought him no "respect." His wife sits before him on the lap of her rich lover and says tauntingly, "If you don't like this and you want to kill us, kill us as we are." She knows that in the after-world you will live as you die.

The New Rich. Jim Belly Fat, fifty-four, is the richest man on the reserve today. On the agency books he earned $9000 in 1939. With this he supports not only his family, but also the family of his brother John who is now too sick to work for him, and that of his brother-in-law and helper, Paul Rousard. Jim is a hard worker and a hard employer, so hard in fact, that Paul is about to leave him. He has a farm of 600 acres, a herd of 180 cattle, a good motor truck, and a new tractor that he rents out by the day

to other farmers. A young man without wealth, he first married Nettie Big Leggings, ten years his senior, and a member of one of the prominent cattle-owning families. He hoped that he would not only be permitted to manage her herds but that in time she would give them to him outright. This, however, she showed no disposition to do. Disappointed and disgusted he left her and applied when the new land was thrown open for farming. He married again, this time a beautiful half-breed with a none too savory reputation, but with an ambition and energy equal to his own. Together they achieved success. Until 1939, Jim had only joined the youthful Pigeons and the Brave Dogs. He had never purchased any pipes or ceremonial bundles; but in that fateful year he was "forced" to join the Horn Society. He is not entitled to an important seat in the tipi of his host if bundle owners are present, for he has bought no important bundles, but he enjoys the more mundane "respect" that follows obvious success.

The Miser. Gets His Gun, sixty-five, has 700 horses (there are about 4000 on the whole reserve). Only rarely has he sold any of them, though in recent years he rents a few of the better ones to riders in the rodeos. When he offers them in a ceremonial exchange, he only produces a small number. Describing the rest with nice particularity, he says to the expectant seller, "Go and look for them yourself." Hunting a needle in a hay-stack is as simple. Yet in this society where wealth counts for so much, he is not ostracized either for his miserliness or his deceit. He has joined the Pigeons, the Brave Dogs, the Braves, the Black Seizers, the Horn Society (three times), the Crow Carriers. He has been the owner of a "medicine pipe." He lives in poverty from choice, but this is different from living in poverty from need. He is criticized behind closed doors, but he is welcomed at public functions. Many Rattles, the shaman upstart, said he was *istuisanaps*, the "respected" one. But Gets His Gun's wife does not agree. It is her wealth that he is preserving.

The Women

Head Chief's Wife. Mrs. Red Crow, as she was known in her later years, was the youngest wife of the rich and respected treaty chief. Barren of children, she persuaded her aging husband to adopt a half-breed baby, and this child, like all his brothers and sisters, was made a "favorite."

Old Red Crow died in 1898. His property was divided between his wife and children, and the farms fell to Mrs. Red Crow and her young son, Percy, who was the only child at home. When he was old enough he worked both his mother's farm and his own. He lived at his mother's place. Here he brought his wife, and here they raised their three children. When she sickened with tuberculosis, Percy found the wilful, manly-hearted, and twice married Mary Red Bear more to his liking. The elder Mrs. Red Crow

disapproved the new union. Two spoiled, "bossy," and wealthy women fought over Percy. His mother commanded him to remain with his wife, but he left with Mary. No matter that her son had been a favorite, no matter that he had conscientiously farmed her land. She barred her door against him and refused to give him even those farm implements and horses that were rightfully his. He still had his farm land, but he could not cultivate it without tools or animals. His mother faced his penniless state with equanimity and made no move when he was forced to hire out as a helper to his new and wealthy brother-in-law. She took in a young half-breed to farm for her and when she died she left her property to him. All Percy's efforts to break her "will" after her death were as unavailing as they had been during her life-time.

Mother of a Favorite. The first Mrs. Big Water is seventy-four. Lithe, well-knit and dignified, she looks twenty years younger. She has always been active. Even in her youth she dressed the skins and did the bead-work that should have fallen to the second wife. Manly-hearted though she was, her virtue was so secure that at the Sun Dance she was able to "vow the tongues."

Her oldest son, Dave, was beautiful and the Big Waters decided to make him a "favorite." His mother still treasures a little metal bell charm that was given him as a child by an old lady. She still lovingly exhibits his little fur cap, the beaded case that held his umbilical cord, and the mink skin that he received from his father's older brother. Fine presents were given in return for these, but the parents never could afford to honor their son with a big and ostentatious give-away.

Bad luck stalked the family in 1918. That was the year the second Mrs. Big Water put up the Sun Lodge. Some say she must have vowed falsely. Big Water died in the flu epidemic. Dave, the "favorite," and his wife were seriously ill, and the following spring the wife died. The first Mrs. Big Water did not expect her spoiled and privileged son to change his ways. The adopted Harvey was still too young "to take care of her." Without ado, she took over Dave's household; she brought up his children. Even when he married again, they remained with her.

The family finances have gone from bad to worse. The cattle were lost in the winter of 1919; the haying lagged, and the farm, only acquired in 1930, brings a small return. The old mother still goes into the beet fields to eke out their meagre living. Even in this modern day she harnesses the horses while her son stands by without lifting a finger. He must get "respect." She may show a fine buckskin suit that she has dressed and beaded, but it is her favorite who sets the terms of the sale and handles the returns. She never overrides his authority. Bread-winner, houseworker, nurse, she

is still the proud and uncomplaining mother of a spoiled and arrogant *minipoka.*

Manly-Hearted Woman. Mary Red Bear, the youngest daughter of a chief, is a manly-hearted woman. She claims she is a favorite, but her older brother loudly asserts that he alone of the family was given that status. His parents and his other sisters pampered and spoiled him, but Mary did not hesitate to beat him with her fists. She grabbed his treasured necklace, tore it from his neck, and hid it. She complained that her father did not treat her fairly. The night before she was to leave for school she ran away. "The favorite son had never gone," she said.

Unlike her obedient older sister who later became a Sun Lodge vower, the beautiful and wilful Mary flouted her father. She spent much time away from home with a young and experienced aunt. She refused to marry the poor man her father had chosen for her, nor did she accept his later suggestions. At the ripe age of twenty-one she finally eloped, and did not mind when her father refused to honor her by making the customary bridal gifts. Her husband's family gladly took her in. Was she not the proud daughter of a rich chief? And in time her father forgave her and she visited him again.

The marriage did not last, nor did the one that followed. Mary found the youngest son of the old chief, Red Crow, too much to her liking. With little ceremony she took him from his sick wife and three half-grown children. Neither the angry words of Percy's rich old mother, nor her refusal to give up his property, diverted Mary from her course. Confident in her own and her new husband's heritage, she persuaded him to accept the help of her rich brother. Though penniless, Percy could still be sure that he would not be exploited. That was reserved for those who were born poor. In three years he was reëstablished by his industry and his brother-in-law's generosity. He returned to his own farmland with his own horses and wagon. Today he is the chief of his band. The manly-hearted woman had won again.

Pretty but Poor. Dancing Bird, fifty, is one of the handsomest women and one of the most often married on the reserve today. They say she has had ten husbands, but she has had no children. "She had gone with too many men." Even as a child she was generous with her favors, and "was seen going into the woods with as many as four boys at a time." At thirteen she was hurriedly, but satisfactorily, married to Walt Big Leggings, a member of a successful cattle-herding family, "to save her character." But neither this union, nor the many that followed lasted for any time. She went finally to live with Pointed Plume who felt her rich experience made legal marriage in either white or Indian terms unnecessary. For twenty years they remained together, a proud, handsome, and well-to-do

couple, leaders in the social and ceremonial life of the tribe. During all this time her behavior was exemplary, but the Blood never forget and a husband never forgives a past. Yet no one denied that she was a good mother to the young sons of Pointed Plume and to his oldest granddaughter whom he adopted and made his favorite. Her acceptance was so complete that the first time her "husband" philandered, his older son left the house in disapproval; the second time, the younger one barred the door to his own father and his "new" wife, while he continued to live with his stepmother.

Although she had no schooling and spoke no English, she was wise enough, when her "husband" left her for another woman, to hire a Cardston lawyer and establish her claim to his property as a common-law wife. Deserted she still holds her head high. Friends say it would only take the arrogant flick of her cigarette to bring her "uncertain" husband again to her side.

Miss Wells' Girl. Marcia Belly Fat's white father deserted her Indian mother. When the mother died some few years later, the young Marcia was placed in boarding school by her aunt. She was a good student and a favorite with her teacher, Miss Wells. Most of her holidays were spent at the school or at the school camp, but this restricted life neither curbed her ambition nor killed her independence.

After graduation she was given a paid position at the school. Later, her small savings and fine looks that tell little of her Indian ancestry gave her the courage to set up as a dressmaker in the town of Lethbridge. In the early 1920's the good prices for grain made farming attractive. Marcia returned to the reserve and asked for land. She is the only woman among the Blood who has cultivated her own farm. "She worked like a man," they say. She was one of the few women who rode horseback. She is the only one to drive a motor truck.

Her white lovers were generous, but they did not marry her. She was over thirty when she finally accepted the ambitious and industrious Jim Belly Fat who farmed the neighboring land. In the early years of their marriage, flushed with drink he would often beat her. He could not forget how his "fighters" taunted him about her past.

Marcia has little interest in sex today. At forty-five, she is beautiful, soft voiced, and charming. She wears good clothes, her children are handsome and well dressed; her house is well appointed. She still helps her husband run his farm. She is Blood enough to know that the rich gain in prestige if they show no jealousy. She has permitted her husband's mistress and her impoverished husband who helps on the farm to live with them. She has plied her with fine presents. She says, "Jim is a sick man and should have his fun." At the transfer ceremony of the Horn Society into which her husband was buying for the first time, she raised her cool blue eyes to meet

the admiring glance of a male onlooker, and asked with disarming innocence, "What am I expected to do here?" But a few minutes later she did not hesitate or stumble when she walked down the calico aisle to receive her husband's ceremonial headdress. They say that he has hired a substitute to act for Marcia in the wife exchange that completes the purchase of the painted sorcery root. Was he too jealous to permit his wife to participate, or was she unwilling today to grant her favors—even ceremonially?

Poor Young Wife. Helen Sloane was married at eighteen, just after leaving the Catholic Boarding School. Her grandmother's husband is an honored bundle-owner, medicine man, and former leader of the Horn Society. Her mother is a handsome vigorous woman. Her half-blood father had been a government scout and later a successful farmer, but a progressive disease had increasingly invalided him. Today the family is on relief. Neither family prestige nor former financial success were sufficient to attract a rich husband. Some said it was the sores on Helen's hands that prevented her from making a good match.

Her father was so ashamed of her marriage to the poor and orphaned Herbert Panther Tail that he pleaded complete ignorance of all preliminaries, though traditionally these are initiated by the father of the bride. He said his wife had made all the arrangements with Mrs. Stephen Little Bird for whose husband Herbert was working and whose family had "raised" him. He said the priest at the school had connived with them. He said to his wife, "Don't blame me if anything turns up if you marry Helen to a poor boy like that. Although he has been adopted, his parents have hardly anything at all and he has nothing." Ned Sloane gave his daughter "six horses as a marriage gift." Actually they had been hers, a memory of more successful years, but the poor bride had little benefit of them. They were quickly turned over to the Little Birds' who sold them for their own account.

Herbert continued to work for his uncle but, perhaps to avoid the constant demands that offered but small reward, the young couple made frequent visits to the bride's family. Even in her home, however, they could not expect a too hearty welcome. In her father's poor household food alone was an item. Besides, "they asked for so many things, as children do," and there was no return service. The bride's father "became disgusted." He said, "you might as well remain here altogether." Forced to decide between two unsatisfactory alternatives, the young groom felt there was a better future in his father-in-law's home. To be sure the family was on relief, but they still owned the fallow farm land. While the crop would go to his father-in-law, he might get an increasing share.

Mrs. Little Bird was furious at their departure. Knowing that Helen's family was penniless, she hurled at her the epithet for the rich. She sneered,

"Go home you *minipoka*," you child of plenty. Herbert is still dependent upon the uncertain bounty of his wife's family. When Helen needs a can of tomatoes she asks her father for ten cents.

VII. Conclusion

Blood society in the buffalo days was highly individualistic and competitive. In the reserve period, it remained so, but with certain differences.

The old society, despite its basically competitive character, required considerable cooperation in order to function at all. Buffalo hunting, the essential economy, depended on communal effort and group discipline. Effective policing demanded a continuing solidarity within the men's societies. The need for joint defence encouraged neighborliness and restraint within the camp circle. A leader to win enduring support had to be generous. A follower to earn a just reward had to be loyal.

In the new situation, much of this was changed. The buffalo "went out of sight" and the cooperative mechanisms, which had operated against considerable odds even in the preceding decades, lost their most significant functions. The disciplinary duties of the men's societies were confined to the few weeks of the Sun Dance (throughout the year, the agency police maintained order on the reserve). The new economies, even more than the old, stressed individual ownership and individual performance. No longer fearing attack, the Blood built their substantial houses and barns on separated homesteads. Leader and follower no longer looked to each other for loyalty and support. In the new society, the government agency became the "generous giver."

The substitution of an impersonal government agency for a freely chosen band leader offered a more certain security on the material level, but reduced the need for mutual help and joint responsibility among the members of the tribe. The new economies, however, made community action even less necessary. Alone, or with one or two helpers, a Blood can successfully cultivate his own acres and care for his stock. What cooperation exists rarely goes beyond a father and his sons, a father-in-law and son-in-law, or a couple of brothers. Generosity, which in most cases was little more than a means of winning support and keeping it, now operates within an increasingly restricted circle—and with increasing rarity. Gestures of hospitality are still made, but they are quickly regretted. A wife's brother or father may still help in the purchase of ceremonial privilege, but such occasions are none too frequent at best and many families shun them altogether.

Within a continuing competitive framework, program and accident at different periods of time affected various groups in the society differently.[201]

[201] Ralph Linton, *Acculturation and Processes of Culture Change*, p. 468.

The response of these groups to government policy was dictated primarily by two factors, tradition and reward. The first did not necessarily obstruct acceptance; in many instances it strongly recommended it. Reward, if great enough, needed no apologist, but it was weighed in relation to advantages already offered by the society. These advantages were real not sentimental. The hostility of the cattle herders to the agricultural experiment in 1910 was due to their desire to preserve their considerable success in stock-breeding, not to any bond with their more remote hunting past. And again, the quick divorce of a money economy from a horse economy by those who began to farm in 1910 must be laid, not to any innate intellectual superiority, but to the fact that they had had the smallest stake in the benefits offered by their society.

In essence, the aim of the Canadian Government was to make these Indians self-supporting within the limits of their reservation. Its actual programs were largely paternalistic, yet neither the assurance of rations, nor release from the worries of marketing, nor the earlier possibility of acquiring good land for the asking, has succeeded in resolving the social conflicts in the Blood community. Competitive and rivalrous trends, which functioned destructively in the buffalo past, find ample expression in the more recent present. To be sure, the authority of the reserve has considerably reduced the serious assaults against life and property, but restraint, as the occasions for joint enterprise decrease, appears even less necessary than in the raiding period. In 1939, these "turbulent" Indians were still "exceedingly jealous among themselves"; they still had "frequent quarrels" which might "end in bloodshed or death"; and they still pursued the individualistic goals that had dominated their society for more than a century and a quarter.

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OBSERVATIONS ON NORTHERN BLACKFOOT KINSHIP

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IX

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I. The Kinship System

In this paper we shall first present the kinship structure and subsequently seek to understand some of its implications from the point of view of the cultural totality.[1] In Section III will be found a list of kinship terms with their definitions. Our terminological data were gathered mainly from seven informants, three males and four females. The remainder of our material is taken from scattered references in our field notes.

Generally speaking, the Northern Blackfoot, or *siksika*, make eight kinds of distinction in designating kinsmen: Kin names are distinguished (1) by generation, (2) by relative age, (3) by sex of kinsman, (4) by sex of the speaker, (5) according to whether relatives are in the mother's, father's or affinal families, (6) according to whether they are members of a particular line of relatives, (7) according to whether or not they reside with ego, (8) according to the marital status of certain women. Not all of these distinctions are operative in any single case, nor is any single distinction operative throughout. From these distinctions we have constructed the schema of Figure 1 which illustrates some of the ways in which a Northern Blackfoot views his relatives. The horizontal line through ego divides those older than ego from those younger than ego. The circle surrounding ego demarks an hypothetical group of relatives in what we call an *orientation* group. From this center radiate lines indicating the mother's, the father's and the affinal family, in each of which the two sexes are distinguished. Below ego are his descendants and the descendants of his collaterals distinguished according to sex.

Presently the membership of each of these groups will be considered in detail. Now a few preliminary remarks on general features of the system as a whole may clarify our presentation.

We may consider Blackfoot kinship on the basis of the social distance implied by the terms themselves. The greatest social distance is expressed by the term "grandparent." Those called "father" or "mother" have considerably greater intimacy in relation to ego, as the equivalent terms connote in our own cultural setting. Between siblings, generally speaking, social distance is least, and the culture expects cordial relations.

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[1] The spelling of the Blackfoot kinship terms is reasonably correct, but unforeseen conditions prevent a final check at this time. They will be checked in a later publication.

Applying these considerations to the kinship system, we observe in father's family a high concentration of persons termed "grandparent," and in general there is considerable social distance between these individuals and ego. Mother's family, on the other hand, contains a high concentration of mothers, fathers and brothers, and social distance is generally less. The affinal family, however, contains a large number of grandparents, where again social distance is considerable.

Two general principles of reckoning social distance enter here. In father's family age is a clear factor. As one approaches ego's own age level, the social

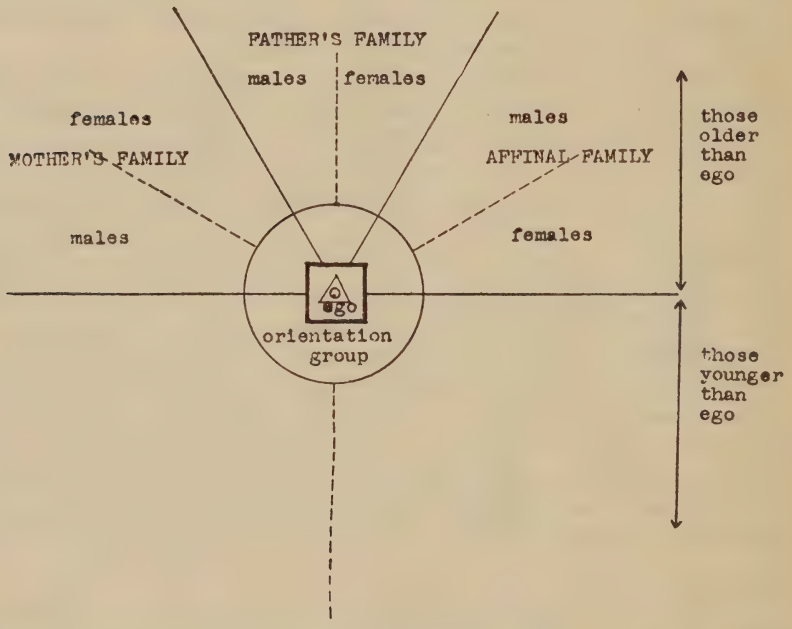

Fig. 1.—Showing schematically the relation of a male or female ego to categories of kinsmen, as mediated by the orientation group.

distance decreases, so that persons of like age are more intimate. In mother's family and in the affinal family of a man, generation becomes the main principle of establishing social distance; e.g., wife's sisters are less distant than wife's mother.

Sex introduces a further complicating factor. A boy reaching puberty learns increasingly to respect his sister, thus introducing social distance in his relationship to her. At her marriage, if it has not already occurred by the time of puberty, social distance is formally recognized when the sister depresses her brother one generation terminologically. Though it does not

affect her designation of the brother himself, his wife and children are now called respectively "daughter-in-law" and "grandchildren."

One further distinction should be noted. Though we tend to consider social distance unilinearly as remoteness at one extreme and intimacy at the other, extremely significant qualitative differences in relationship are also involved. Remoteness may be the basis of complete social isolation, or it may form a condition for hate, anger, dominance or exhibition. In Blackfoot culture the social distance of the father's family and the affinal family must be qualitatively distinguished. While the affinal family's social distance implies isolation, the father's family in its remoteness implies authority. This is reflected terminologically, for though ego addresses both his father's father and his wife's father as "grandparent," the father-in-law calls ego "son-in-law," while father's father calls ego "grandson."

From the foregoing remarks the intent of the system seems to be a patrilineal organization. Authority is vested in the father's family, while warm intimacy characterizes the relations to the mother's family. The marriage of a woman implies the severing of relations with her own family and becoming a part of her husband's family. A man by reason of authority based on age and generation would appear to hold together the group of male kinsmen with their wives, sons and unmarried daughters. Indeed, this would be in keeping with the general pattern for the northern Plains and Woodland tribes of North America.

In practise, however, the anarchistic individualism of the Plains changes the emphasis of this system. Family organization is multilineal; living is multilocal. Authority as exemplified in the band system is more like the relationship of landlord to tenant than lord to vassal. It is based on the supposition of a continuous flow of benefits to the submitter, rather than the humble submission to might in return for favors. As a consequence a kinsman uses his relatives for whatever benefits they may bring him. Only those whose wealth enables them to maintain a continuous flow of benefits have the continuity of the ideal system of patrilineally organized groups. But even they, because of their positions, have many besides siblings and their descendants as followers. Relatives through one's mother, through one's wife as well as their kinsmen, in fact any person with the remotest claim of relationship, may come to reap the benefits that a wealthy man distributes. Only in this light can the actual working of the system be understood.

The Orientation Group

Let us first identify the group of relatives in this category and then attempt to justify the distinction. Membership in an orientation group includes ego's father (*nɪn.'a*), mother and her co-wives (*nɪksɪs'ta*), older brother (*nɪ'sᵃ*), older sister (*nɪn'sta*), and younger sibling (*nɪskən.'ᵃ* for a

male speaker and *nɪsɪs.'a* for a female speaker).[2] If we extend to ego the position of father in ego's own tipi, we find ego's wife or wives (*nɪtɔki.'man*), son (*nuxku'a*) and daughter (*nɪtan.'a*); for a female speaker the only additional term needed is the word "husband" (*nom.'a*), the co-wives being addressed as "younger sibling" or "older sister."

The nominal character of this group cannot be denied. We have found no linguistic term to delineate these relatives, though there does exist a suffix to distinguish between siblings living with ego from those living elsewhere. As the conjugal Blackfoot family usually lives in a distinct dwelling from the parents, the orientation group contains not a single household unit but two: ego's parents' household and ego's household as a married adult with family. Though the schema implies patrilocal residence, actually residence is multilocal. Our concept, furthermore, does not allow for the fact that a woman is differently oriented toward her parents than a male by dint of his mother-in-law tabu and sororal polygyny. Only among the economically most impoverished, where even two tipis cannot be mustered, could such a group exist in practise.

Our justification for such a group lies in the fact that these relatives are points of orientation toward a larger circle of kinsmen. It is as if the persons of one's own tipi are direct relatives of ego while those outside are mediated through some one who lives or has lived with ego. For example, our term "aunt" implies a direct relationship to ego, but "father's sister" would imply a relationship mediated through father. Though there is some linguistic evidence for this, more positive evidence is the phrasing of our interpreters and informants. One informant, generalizing the forms of address of his affinal relatives, explained: "Those whom my wife calls 'father' or 'mother', I call 'grandparent'. . ." It would have been quite as easy for our interpreters to have translated "my wife's father is called 'my grandparent'," though this form of expression was not used. Elsewhere we find interpreters translating that a given person was "comrade" of the informant's father. The age of the father, as we shall see presently, is a point of reference for reckoning the form of address to males of father's family. We may infer that the mother also serves as a point of reference, for the members of her family are addressed by a different set of rules. In addition, the wife addresses her husband's family according to rules similar to those used by her husband in addressing his own family. Similarly, the wife's family is addressed in ways comparable to the rules whereby a woman addresses her own kinsmen.

Linguistically, several terms reveal this tendency for the orientation

[2] All Blackfoot terms for kinsmen are given in the possessive form, first person singular and include "my ——."

group to serve as a center of reference. The term *nɪtxki.'man* may be distinguished from *nɪtoɔ'xki.man*. The first refers to my wife; the second refers to my wife's sister married to another man or to the wife of my comrade. The infix *o* refers to distance or separation, and the foregoing term with this infix may be translated, as our interpreters were wont to do, "my 'distant' wife." The corresponding term is "'distant' husband" (*nɪtotoyom.'a*), which may be contrasted with "husband" (*nom.'a*). We find a similar distinction between the terms for own children and grandchildren: thus my daughter is *nɪtan.'a* while my granddaughter is *nɪs.otan.'a*, suggesting that the latter may be considered as a daughter through one's own daughter or a distant daughter. Michelson has also noticed this infix, though he referred only to its presence in *nɪtoɔ'xki.man*.[3]

Father's Family

We include the males and females of the direct patrilineal line and its collaterals, ego's own siblings and paternal male parallel cousins. Though we have included ego's own siblings and father in the group of orientation, for the sake of showing the extent of the terminological principle, we reinclude them here. Males in father's family are addressed according to relative age with reference to ego and ego's father. This makes five logical possibilities for naming, all of which are used: (1) Those older than father and their wives are called "grandparent" (*naa'xs*^{a}). (2) Those of father's age are called "father," i.e., "father's comrade," and their wives are called "mother." (3) Those younger than father but older than ego are called "older brother," and their wives are called "mother" by male and unmarried female speakers; after being married, a woman calls an older brother's wife "daughter-in-law" (*nii'mps*^{a}). (4) Those of ego's age of either sex are called "comrade" (*nɪtak.'a*); wives of comrades are called by men "'distant' wife" (*nɪtoɔ'xki.man*); husbands of comrades are called by women "'distant' husband" (*nɪtotoyom.'*^{a}). The term of address for the husband of a female comrade as spoken by a male is "older brother" or "younger sibling"; for the wife of a male comrade as spoken by a female it is "older sister" or "younger sibling". (5) Siblings or first generation descendants of older brothers, if these descendants are younger than ego, are called "younger sibling," and the wives of these men are called "daughter-in-law" by both sexes. This is diagrammed in Figure 2.

The females of father's family are designated according to generation. All women of father's generation or of the preceding generations and their husbands are blanketed as "grandparent." Women of ego's generation are called "younger sibling" or "older sister." Though generation is the general

[3] Michelson, T. *Piegan Kinship System*, Holmes Anniversary Volume, Washington, D. C. 1916, p. 320 f.

principle for designating these females, in practice age enters also to determine the relationship term. A woman of ego's generation who is considerably older than ego may be addressed as "grandparent." Some younger people today extend the term "older sister" to include the younger sister of father, if she is not younger than ego, but this practise is disapproved of by the older Indians.

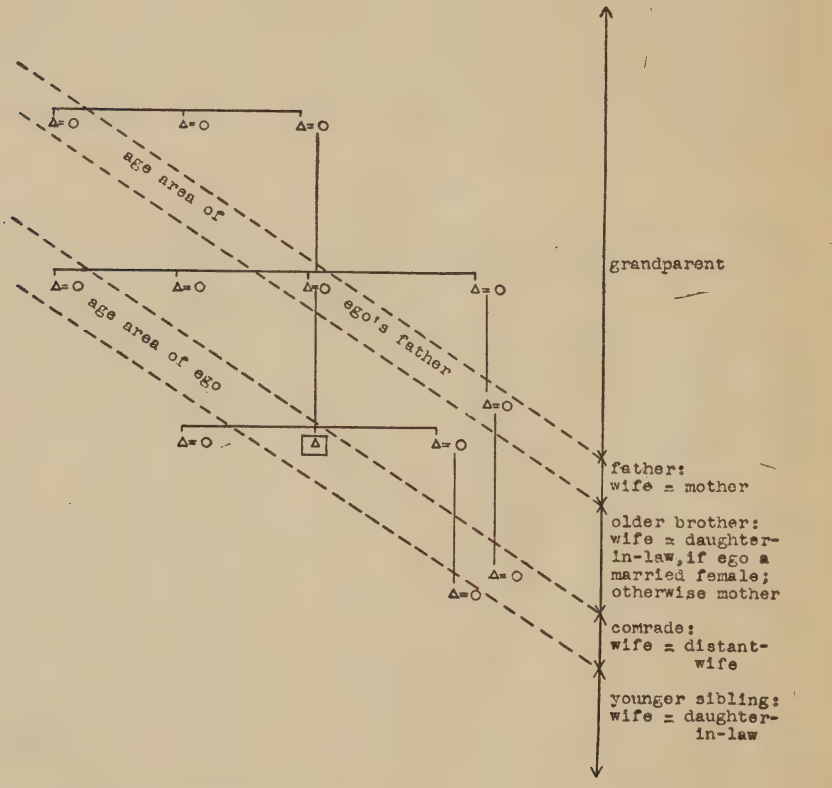

Fig. 2.—Showing the basis of terminological distinction among the males and their wives of father's family by age with relation to ego and ego's father.

Mother's Family

The sex and marital status of the speaker is of paramount importance in addressing the mother's family. Unmarried females and married or unmarried males address all men of mother's family as "older brother" until these males pass below the age level of ego when they become "younger sibling." This form of address disregards generation. One exception, how-

ever, should be noted, that the siblings of mother's father are termed "grandparent," though their male descendants in mother's generation become "older brother" or "younger sibling." The wives of these older brothers are called "mother"; the wives of younger male siblings are called "daughter-in-law" (*nii'mps*[a]).

Women of mother's family are designated according to generation regardless of sex or marital status of the speaker. The women of mother's mother's generation are "grandparent"; those of mother's generation are "mother"; those of ego's own generation are "older sister" or "younger sibling." The husbands of these women are given the corresponding male relationship term of the woman whom they marry; thus men marrying women in

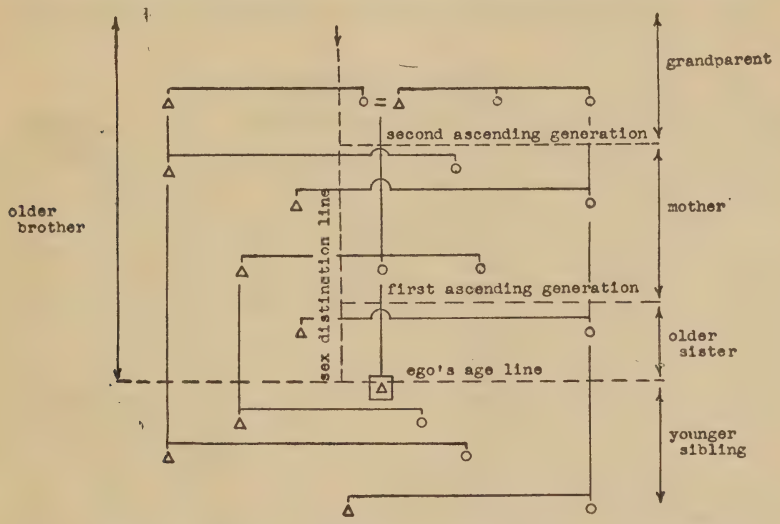

Fig. 3.—Showing the form of address for mother's family and its collaterals by male and unmarried female ego.

mother's mother's generation are "grandparent," in mother's generation are "father," and in ego's own generation are "sister's husband" (*nistamo'*) for the males and "distant husband" (*nitotoyom.'*[a]) for the females. This means of designation is illustrated in Figure 3.

On marrying, the status of the woman is suddenly elevated with respect to the males of her mother's family. All males called "older brother" are lowered a generation by the female speaker. Though it is not shown by a change of the term of address for this man, it is revealed in two other ways: first, his wife is no longer called "mother" but "daughter-in-law" (*nii'mps*[a]); second, his children are called "grandson" (*nis.xku'*[a]) and "granddaughter" (*nis.otan.'*[a]) rather than "older sibling" or "younger sibling." In

addressing the women of mother's family and their husbands no change is made over the premarital form of address. This is diagrammed in Figure 4.

Affinal Family

Sex of the speaker is an important criterion here. A wife's father, her father's siblings, her mother, and her mother's sisters are called "grand-

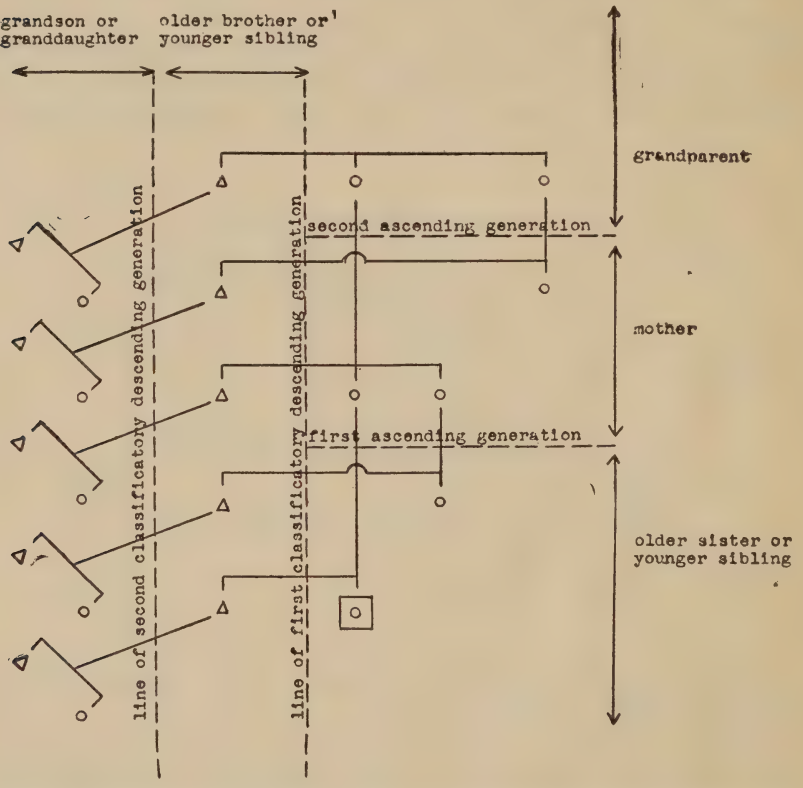

Fig. 4.—Showing the form of address for mother's family and its collaterals by a married female ego.

parent" whether older or younger than ego. Wife's brothers regardless of age and wife's mother's brothers are all called "wife's brother" (*nistamox'kua*); the wives of these men are "daughter-in-law." All wife's brothers, regardless of generation, produce "grandchildren." All wife's sisters regardless of age are called "distant wife," and their husbands are called "comrade." Children of wife's sisters are "son" and "daughter."

The female ego, addressing her husband's family, calls all persons older than her husband "grandparent." Those members of the family younger than her husband are, according to their sex, "son" or "daughter"; i.e., all persons who are called "younger sibling" by her husband become her "son" and "daughter." The children of these "sons" and "daughters" are "grandson" and "granddaughter." From our evidence a woman before marriage addresses her older brother's wife as "mother," and the latter replies by saying "daughter." After the marriage of the woman termed "daughter," the newly married woman calls her older brother's wife "daughter-in-law," though the brother's wife continues to call her "daughter" and addresses her daughter's husband as "son-in-law" (*nis.*[a]). The usual relationship of avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law is optional here.

Those Younger than Ego

It will have been observed that for a male speaker both mother's and father's families produce "siblings," as the descendants approach the age level of ego. An older brother produces generations of "older brothers" and "older sisters" until they pass below ego's age level. Likewise older sisters produce generations of "older brothers" and "older sisters" until they pass the age level of ego. After passing the age level of ego, all these descendants of older siblings are called "younger sibling." At this point a difference occurs based on the sex of the younger sibling. Children of male younger siblings become ego's "grandchildren." Children of female younger siblings eternally produce "younger siblings." Thus only through a male descendant or male younger sibling can the male speaker have grandchildren. This is diagrammed in Figure 5.

For a female speaker (Fig. 6), brother's children, regardless of age, are "grandchildren," and as we have previously noted, this extends to the classificatory older brothers in mother's family. Sister's children regardless of age of the sister are her "sons" and "daughters" whose children become "grandchildren."

The wives of grandchildren are called by both sexes "daughter-in-law." The husbands of grandchildren are called by both sexes "son-in-law."

Variations in Terminology

We have attempted to present here what might be called the classic Blackfoot nomenclature of kin terms, formulated into a fairly coherent system. We must also note certain variations from this picture. Due to our small sample it is meaningless to place these forms of address in frequency distributions, so that we shall merely note the presence of variations.

There is a current tendency to classify females as well as males of the

father's family in terms of age relative to ego and ego's father, instead of generation. Here father's younger sister older than ego changes from "grandparent" to "older sister," and father's younger sister younger than ego becomes "younger sibling." This practise seems confined to younger people of the reserve.

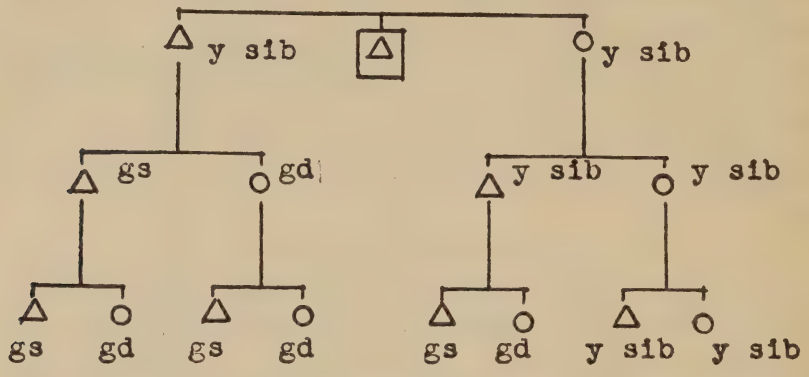

Fig. 5.—Showing the form of address for descendants of younger siblings for a male ego.

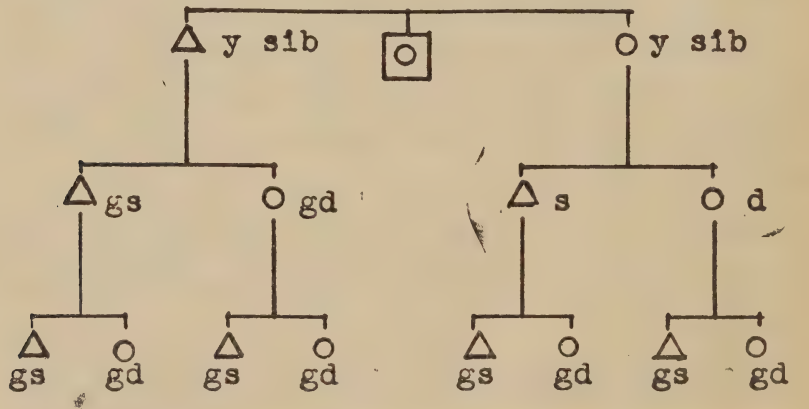

Fig. 6.—Showing the form of address for descendants of younger siblings for a female ego.

In mother's family mother's mother's brother is sometimes addressed as "grandparent" instead of "older brother," as we have shown. In the corresponding generations below ego the children of a sister's daughter are then called "grandchild" rather than "younger sibling." This is also a trend among the younger people of the reserve.

We have also noted a certain looseness in the form of address toward persons who are two generations apart. If the age difference is considerable, a grandparent-grandchild relationship may be formed, but if the age difference is less, the two may address each other as some form of sibling. Due to this emphasis on age, some males may have more than one generation of younger siblings through a younger sibling of the speaker's own generation.

Comparison with Other Blackfoot Nomenclatures

The differences to be noted in what follows may be due to different time levels in the collection of data, to differences in sampling, or to variations within the Blackfoot-speaking tribes.

Wissler's terms, gathered largely from the South Piegan, bear a certain resemblance to ours in such terms as "father," "older sister," "younger sibling," "father-" and "mother-in-law," "son's wife" and "husband of my sister" (female speaking).[4] However, there are numerous differences in the words employed: South Piegan call mother *nikso'stak* while the Northern Blackfoot use the term *nɪksɪs'ta*. The South Piegan male ego distinguishes grandparents as to sex, but not the Northern Blackfoot. The Northern Blackfoot have only one term for older sister and not two terms, as spoken by male and female South Piegans. More important differences are that for a male ego all women of mother's generation, including mother's brother's wife and father's sisters are all called "mother." Instead, the Northern Blackfoot call father's sisters "grandparent." Wissler did not find distinctions between father's older brother and his younger brother as in our findings.

Michelson's own data from the North Piegan and the Blood are much more in keeping with ours, and the phonetic renditions of the terms are probably more accurate than the ones we have given.[5] His terms *ni'ta^{c} kyēma^{ca}* and *noyi'n^{c}nāw^{a}* are collective terms of which we found only the first. It refers (male speaking) to all of a man's sisters. An exception to his use of *nišo^{c}tan'na^{ca}* occurs in our data; "granddaughter" refers among the Northern Blackfoot not to all daughters of younger siblings, as do the data on the North Piegan. Instead we found it necessary to distinguish according to the sex of the speaker: a male ego calls younger sister's children "younger sibling," while a female ego calls younger sister's children "son" and "daughter." Both male and female Northern Blackfoot speakers call younger brother's children "grandchildren." We found no use of the word *nɪto'toxko'^{ca}* (probably "my distant son") by the female speaker, for among

[4] Wissler, C., *The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians*, Anthropological Papers, AMNH, 1911, Vol. 7, part I, p. 15.

[5] Michelson, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

the Northern Blackfoot sister's son is always addressed as "son." No special terms referring to step-parents or stepchildren were in use on the Northern Blackfoot reserve, according to our data. *Ni'm'sa'*^{a}, which is probably the Piegan equivalent of our *nii'mps*^{a}, is more broadly used among the Northern Blackfoot than among the Northern Piegan. In addition to being "my daughter-in-law," and "my younger sibling's wife," our data show it as "wife of grandson." Female speakers after marriage use it in reference to the wives of all brothers. In another place we found only two terms where Michelson distinguishes three: *ni'*^{a}*sa'*^{a} for elder brother, probably our *nɪ's*^{a}; *ni'* *s̄a'*^{a} for son-in-law, probably our *nɪs.*^{a}; *ni's̄* for brother-in-law spoken by a female for which we found no phonetic equivalent. Females of the Northern Blackfoot address their husband's brothers, if elder than husband, as "grandparent"; if younger than husband, as "son." Females address their sister's husband as "distant husband." Another difference is that we have no single term referring to all members of the second ascending generation; all are "grandparents" except mother's mother's brother who is "older brother." *nitsi'ña'axs* for "my grandfather" did not appear in our field notes; this suffix *nɪtsi* is sometimes used to indicate special possession as "my own" or "my very own," showing particular endearment. The term taken by Michelson from Morgan, *n'-do'-to'yose* or *nito'toyō s̄*, did not occur in our notes. We guess that this may be our *nɪtstoyo'* which occurred once as an alternative word spoken by a female for "sister's husband"; the more usual word is *nɪtotoyom.'*^{a}. *nɪtstoyom.'*^{a} is the term for a particularly dear distant husband, since it contains the suffix *nɪtsi*. Perhaps these terms found by Morgan and Michelson are similar variants.

The differences center largely around two main points. The first is that neither Wissler nor Michelson found the Piegan or Blood overriding generations because of an emphasis on age. Thus father's younger brother was not distinguished by any of these investigators from father's older brother. The second difference lies in the distinctive treatment by the Northern Blackfoot of the men of mother's family; Blood and Piegan do not seem to regard the female line as requiring special treatment.

II. Discussion

Seniority

The age-grading of the males in father's family is the analogue of a broad practice of emphasizing senior authority among the Northern Blackfoot. On the testing ground of juvenile games the older boys directed the ordeals for the younger ones. On the warpath the elder initiated the party, assumed leadership on the march and divided the spoils. Indeed, an older warrior,

war deeds and political authority being equal, would ordinarily not join a war expedition led by one who was his junior. Among war chiefs who had already made their major coups, seniority was as important a factor in prestige as the number of major coups.

Unlike the Pawnee and the Comanche one's prestige did not decline after the last war deed. War was understood as a means for acquiring wealth, and if one were already wealthy, status could be maintained in certain spheres without war deeds. Once one had built an adequate herd of horses, there was no humiliation for those who preferred to remain in camp. Moreover, after renouncing warfare, one might gain further prestige. Ceremonial life was another form of competition with property as one of the stakes; a man surpassed another by paying more for an article of ceremonial importance or by acquiring more sacred articles. The tribal chiefs themselves were usually older men who had already distinguished themselves as warriors. Having given up the war path, they settled with their large herds of horses to help their relatives and thus established their positions as leaders in civil life. In this status of leader a man with less wealth and fewer coups might surpass a man with a finer war record who had greater wealth but less generosity. Above all, the mere fact of having grown old was regarded with respect, for one must have power in order to grow old. Hence, it was any dignified old man who with his liaisons to supernatural powers said prayers for the departing warriors. In fact, they prayed that the young man who offered them a pipe would have a long life and many children.

The general structure of the age societies exemplifies this pattern still further. The societies such as the Bees and the Prairie Chickens were entered by many young men, required little outlay of wealth for membership and served mainly for display, recreation, and solidifying the bonds between comrades. Those high in the hierarchy of age societies such as the members of the Catchers and the Horn societies were necessarily older men of sufficient wealth to pay a relatively high price for admission. Hence the group of members was not large. In addition these societies were entrusted with legal authority, based in part on the supernatural power which membership gave them. We thus see again the tendency to associate with age both authority and supernatural power. Though the Crazy Dogs, lying about midway in the hierarchy of age societies, might sing the old Plains song, "We do not want to become old," this was sung perhaps more in derision of their "enemy society" than as an expression of the desire to die young.

Within the residence group any remarks on authority must be prefaced by the observation that the smaller units were in the final analysis autonomous. Each household unit was free to move any place it desired at the will of the man who was head. Among the households that coalesced into

an extended family, the eldest male was in authority, though any of the constituent households might terminate this authority by camping elsewhere. Similarly the senior member of an extended family could curtail the authority of the band chief by withdrawing with his kinsmen to another band or by forming an independent band, were the group sufficiently large. All groupings larger than the individual household presupposed that the military and economic benefits of membership outweighed the disadvantages of submission to authority.

Assuming stable conditions, authority in the extended family lay with the senior male. At his death the next oldest was presumptive head of the family. As a group there was little contact between the young and those of grandparent status, though an individual might warm to one or more of his grandchildren and favor him in various ways. A child who spent considerable time with old people received the mildly derogatory term of *kıpite'puka* ("old-woman-child") because of imitating unconsciously the mannerisms of old people and hence acting beyond its age. Although an exception to the rule correlating age with authority may appear in the individual household, even here the elder might be active in an advisory capacity. Only under extreme circumstances were old people allowed to die as outcasts. When transportation was difficult or food running short, then with regret, often at their own request, the old were left behind on the march. To be sure, the rule of senior authority was modified when it was realized that senility had appeared. Then the next in age tactfully assumed the major administrative role in the extended family or the band, if it had not already been relinquished.

The age-authority hierarchy was further reinforced by economic considerations. It was the pattern to associate prestige with generosity. Those who gave generously increased their own prestige, providing that they did not bankrupt themselves thereby. Within the extended family it was the practice to encourage siblings to give to their juniors. This was not only an expression of endearment or of aiding a weaker person, as it was often phrased. It also had the effect of putting juniors in the debt of seniors. To be sure these debts were not the same within the family as outside the family between unrelated persons, for repayment between relatives was not categorical. Yet we have such instances as a young man raiding for horses to repay his father. The father had given horses in settlement to a husband whose wife had had an affair with the son. In other cases where an older brother had made his son a favored child, the younger brother gave abundantly to this favored child, "to repay the older brother for his kindness to him in his youth." We have also noted that young men returning from war always gave some portion of their booty to older brothers. The

practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long as the younger."

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal security. Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humiliation, for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat. In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the co-respondent was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son."

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in Northern Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of ones' children's spouses (*nitax'-soku'*). The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close, implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation. Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occasioned by their imperious authority.

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen-

iority, tempered, to be sure, by bonds of affection between members of a family, yet finally secure only in the company of one's equals, the comrades, who were for the most part outside the kin group.

Generation

As seniority ordered the relations between males and to a lesser degree between females, the concept of generation was the more important one ordering the relations of Northern Blackfoot women to each other. With the exception of the sibling terms, which differentiate older and younger than ego, the basis for social relationships was fixed by generation. Three main types of relationship may be distinguished: (1) Mother-daughter relationships implied sacrifice by mother for daughter and obedience by daughter to mother's commands. A mother sent her daughter with a tipi made by her own hands to her first husband. She had also made moccasins for her future son-in-law and his parents. At the birth of her daughter's child, she was a prominent figure in helping at the delivery. (2) In the absence of a mother, the older sister fulfilled these obligations, but in general the relations of older to younger sister required more reciprocity than was the case with ego's relationship to her mother. Once the younger sister reached a position where she had means of repaying, she was expected to repay in various ways her older sister's kindness. Such cooperation was the ideal, and a Blackfoot argument for sororal polygyny held that blood sisters made a more harmonious household than unrelated co-wives. However, in practice the older sister often sat leisurely in command of her husband's household as the "sits-beside-him wife" while her younger sisters performed the arduous work in the tipi and cared for the children. (3) The relationship of grandmother to granddaughter was typically remote, somewhat reserved and distant as before all elderly people. Grandmothers, however, made a practice of befriending and maintaining warm, affectionate relations with one or more of their grandchildren. Thus nearly every child could count on warmth and devotion in at least one of the austere old women.

These generations are conceptually arranged in two different ways. All women of a mother and daughter line arranged themselves in biological generation terms. In addition there is evidence for counting generation in a second way, which fixed the relationships to the lateral lines. After ego's marriage cross-cousins on the mother's side were all called "grandchildren." At this time also the wives of this line of mother's brothers were no longer called "mother" but "daughter-in-law." On the paternal side father's sister was called "grandmother." Our older informants state that the female descending line of this woman was also called "grandmother." Today, however, the descendants are called "older sister" or "younger sister." The term "grandmother" is, nevertheless, in keeping with the practice of calling

maternal cross-cousins "grandchildren," as one would expect them to reply to the term "grandchild" with the corresponding term "grandmother." Occasional cases appear in our notes where an older person calls his father's sister's child affectionately "little grandmother." If this evidence is sufficient, the paternal cross-cousins were once elevated by the females, while the maternal cross-cousins were once depressed two generations. We con-

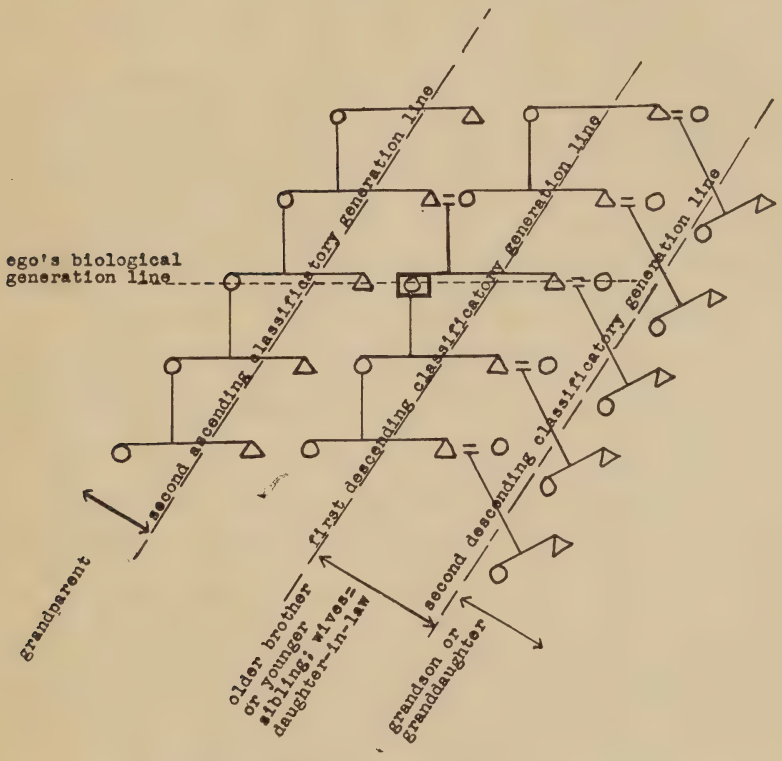
ego's biological generation line
second ascending classificatory generation line
first descending classificatory generation line
second descending classificatory generation line
grandparent
older brother or younger sibling; wives; daughter-in-law
grandson or granddaughter

Fig. 7.—Showing the classificatory generation lines for a married female ego with reference to the ascending and descending lines of father's sister and mother's brother.

strue this as a second way of calculating generation. It is diagrammed in Figure 7.

That this second kind of generation reckoning was not entirely nominal may be seen from several cases. Our informants described father's sister, called "grandparent," as one of the most remote and awe-inspiring relatives. In one case a woman was being disparaged by our informant, and as evidence

of her ill-mannered ways she was accused of joking obscenely with a paternal cross-cousin who was nominally her grandmother. In another case a man was reciting a general formula for handling wives who had gone home from their husbands: "Then the husband would send his sister to the home of the wife's brothers to solicit in his behalf." If it be recalled that she along with her brother is elevated by siblings of the wife's family, then we can understand her power as mediator. In another instance a man married two women who were cross-cousins to each other; he was severely criticized for marrying wives who were "two generations apart."

We were struck by the differing ethos of the woman's world as compared with the man's. Confined in their activity largely to the camp, women were more complacent, resigned, physically less active, and less apt to engage in physical battle to settle their differences. This, we believe, was in part the result of the greater importance of kinship in fixing their social relations than was the case with men. First it was more difficult for women to alter their status in the social group than for men. War and wealth did not offer opportunities; rather the woman's position was dependent in this male-dominated society upon the status of her husband. The wife of a chief (*nɪ'na.ki*) might display her personal finery to the discredit of other women, but it was only as the wife of a chief that such conduct was possible. Otherwise she was a deviant who was treated accordingly. To be sure, women might raise their status in the social hierarchy through religious and ceremonial participation, but unlike coups in battle, the woman who vowed six Sun Dances was accorded very little, if any, more respect than one who vowed one or two Sun Dances. Though women took pride in good handwork, there was no widespread or standardized recognition of these accomplishments that we have uncovered, unlike the Cheyenne women who were admitted to a society in recognition for outstanding handwork.[6] Hence the kinship system appears to be more effective than was the case with men in channeling social relationships between women, for there were fewer competing factors to disrupt its efficient working.

Marriage: A Union between Female and Male Worlds

The male world was outside the tipi in the tending of horses, hunting and the counting of coups. There the world was ordered through seniority. Within the tipi it was a woman's world with objects made by the woman, with children to be tended, and with other women categorized in terms of generation who assisted her with her duties. Marriage was the institution that united these two worlds, but it presented a break with the life of the past for both partners.

[6] Grinnell, G. B. *The Cheyenne Indians*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924, Vol. 1, p. 159 ff.

For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath. The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to another.

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm, affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was, nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape. Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt.

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his wife he was called *nıstamo'* while he replied to them with *nıstamox'kua*. The suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku'a* ("my son") implies depressing a person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient, a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through marriage and hence his personal security.

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her "grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her

to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt to make her feel at home in this new situation.

In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male. However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society, and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower, she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all was faithful to her husband.

Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cultural rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the Horn and mω'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmentionable event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to obtain the rewards of the culture.

Balancing of the Lines

The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight, if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

with seniority as the greater weight. However, regardless of seniority the wife's brother had the right to call home his sister in case of her being mistreated, and if this occurred soon after the initial marriage contract, return of the wedding gifts might be demanded. This prerogative was, of course, balanced by the more frequently exercised right of a husband to send his wife away in case of her failure to meet his demands. Normally, sex rather than family lines constituted the major cleavage, so that the two men cooperated to keep the woman faithful.

Similarly son and son-in-law were neatly balanced. The son, as we shall see presently, was the most important offspring yet little more important than the son-in-law. The rationale of the mother-in-law tabu, as stated by most women, hinges on the emotion of respect. Weight is given this phrasing in behavior, for the greater the prestige of the son-in-law, the greater the number of female in-laws who observed avoidance norms. The respect was also accompanied by periodic gifts exchanged between the son-in-law and parents-in-law. The supremacy of the son in the eyes of his parents may be seen by the following incident where a woman was dying. On her deathbed she summoned her son-in-law who entered the room with eyes lowered so as not to look in her face. After hearing the last words directed to other relatives, the son-in-law was addressed through his wife; the old woman said: "Be kind to your husband; treat him well after I am gone. I love you very much, but I love him better. I love him like a son."

Lineage was traced through the mother's line as well as through the father's. Incest was reckoned if any relationship between the two prospective spouses could be discovered. There was, however, little memory beyond three generations, when the line diffused into vagueness. With names a slight patrilineality showed itself in the desire to make a great name "live in every generation." Thus we find sons and grandsons of famous people still bearing such names as Crowfoot, Eagle Ribs, Old Sun and Many Swans. It would be unusual for a son-in-law to take a family name of this type, but if he did, it was deemed a great honor to the family, for which he would be given a good horse. More likely he would feel obliged to keep alive the important names of his own family. There were also great female names passed down in the line from mother to daughter, but their importance was overshadowed by the male names.

Inheritance of property was also multilateral. A list of recipients in order of their priority might run like this: older brother, younger brother, son, wife's brother, daughter's husband. Nominally, females might receive property and dispose of it, though in practice the husband of the woman received it and acted as agent. Horses, which made up the body of the legacy since household furnishings were parts of the mortuary tipi, were not ordinarily given to lone women, as they had no means for caring for them. The male

relatives were obligated to care for the widow. Women did own property, nevertheless, and might dispose of it according to their own wishes, but should they receive horses from a dying man, a close male relative would be obliged to care for this property.

Under the violent fluctuation of economic fortunes due to enemy raids, uncontrolled livestock disease and severe winters, inheritance was usually not a very significant factor in Blackfoot social life. Though there are notorious cases where young men remained idly in camp because they had inherited sufficient horses to make the warpath unnecessary, such cases stand out by dint of their rarity. Most obligations were settled prior to death, and in mourning dissipation of the property was speedy, relatives and nonrelatives alike not unwilling to be present at the distraught hand-outs of the dead man's possessions. Then the immediate kinsmen were left to mourn, stripped of property, themselves careless of what happened. Nevertheless, in distributing the property, the prior obligations to siblings as compared with own children is striking.

Throughout life reciprocal obligations between brothers was stressed. In childhood the older brother was responsible for introducing a younger brother into the boy's life of the camps. Later he took his younger brother on his first war party. As repayment for this instruction, the younger brother would give a sizable fraction of his booty to the older, and this practice would continue indefinitely after the young man had showed his capability of independent fighting. Once established as a warrior, the young man would take a still younger sibling on war parties, in order to instruct him. This practice established a chain of obligations to repay older brothers and instruct younger brothers who in their turn would repay their instructors.

Competition for honors was a potentially disintegrating force in the relations between brothers, but this system of obligations solidified fraternal relations. In this light the prior obligations to brothers over sons is to be understood: A man's son normally received aid not from his father but from his father's younger brother who would ordinarily be the son's "older brother." Thus interaction in certain spheres was greater with members of adjacent age grades than with one's parents. This was particularly true with reference to economic exchange, and these economic obligations continued through life, finally to be expressed in a man's last words on his deathbed. The main exception to this rule was with a favored child, where the father himself chose to assume the rôle normally falling to an older brother. In accordance with such sentimental ties, the favored child usually received the bulk of a man's property, in contrast to the usual emphasis on sibling solidarity which succeeded in channeling property toward siblings.

Residence after marriage also assumed no specific forms. Not only might

a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages.

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also, as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative possibility that the rôle of a wife was solely bearing children for him. The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation. Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister, even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter."

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our informants recognized the disadvantage of being favored children since the pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt. Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own

status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects, and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy, hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relationship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elaborate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a traumatic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indication of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior. People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct reference to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual, generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable symbolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Furthermore, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remarriage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in making important decisions.

It will have been observed that the woman's system of relating herself to other women is very similar to the Crow kinship structure. Though the presence of such a structure may imply matrilineality, the fact that no clan structure existed necessarily dissipates this possibility. Rather, the somewhat fluid band group contained relatives of a wide variety of relationship and even some unrelated persons if the chief were wealthy and generous. Rather than an emphasis on kin relationships as a patrilineality or a matrilineality would imply, we find instead that a conceivably close bond of blood may be sacrificed for a remoter relationship with greater economic advantage. It is as if one blood relationship were nearly as important as any other and that each merely served as the entrée for advancing one's private interests.

Points of Weakness in the Structure

There were two main points of weakness in the kinship structure which we shall discuss, one in the relationship between siblings, and another in the relationship of husband and wife. Both of these weaknesses were in a large measure due to the disrupting effect of Plains individualism.

We have already noted that brothers might be in conflict, although the emphasis was certainly on fraternal solidarity. There was a continual potential conflict between familial solidarity with authority vested in the eldest and the outspoken individualism of the Plains expressed as a desire to be unhampered by outside authorities. This progressed in the Northern Blackfoot to the extent of dissipating even familial groupings. The leaders of a band were usually close relatives. After Crowfoot's death, for example, the leadership of his band passed through the line of his brothers in order of their age and today has ended nominally with the eldest son of Crowfoot's youngest brother. The followers of a chief, however, were usually any relative of the chief but not necessarily close relatives, for these closer relatives of lesser people tended to move to other camps where opportunities were better. Rather than risk conflict with an elder brother and rather than cooperate to make a common living, brothers moved away to other camps where opportunities might be better with some other relative. The following case of a young man and his mother illustrates the ephemerality of authority of one sibling over another and the solution by moving to another camp.

Many Mules and his mother camped with Big Black Collar, mother's brother, for Many Mules' father had died. The agent offered cattle to the Indians, and Calf Bull, Many Mules' sister's husband, who was chief of a band, bought some. He also advised Many Mules to buy some, but Many Mules said he must first consult his "older brother." Big Black Collar advised against it, saying that those who bought cattle would be sent north and denied the weekly meat rations. Many Mules followed his older brother's advice at that time but in the meanwhile helped Calf Bull from time to time with his cattle. When subsequently the agent offered cattle free to any Indian,

Many Mules obtained five head and drove them into the corral of Big Black Collar. On seeing them, Big Black Collar was furious and ordered Many Mules to get rid of them. Instead Many Mules moved with his mother to the camp of his mother's sister's husband who was a cattle owner.

The result of this situation for a young man was that he moved from one relative's camp to the next until he found the authority which was least arduous. However, until he became economically independent, he could not maintain a wife and tipi. This may be considered another reward for marriage: when one becomes supreme authority in one's own tipi.

Marriage in itself was an unstable affair due to other factors. Here there exists a conflict between the male dogma that any woman was a legitimate sex object and the ideal embodied in the Sun Dance vower, that a bride be not only a virgin but as a wife remain perpetually faithful to her husband. Unmarried men were always a threat to the stability of a marriage, for few men would tolerate clandestine affairs on the part of their wives. The relative rarity of Sun Dance vowers as compared with those women who were ineligible to vow the Sun Dance because of past misconduct bespeaks the frequency of these illicit affairs. As women were credited with the initiative in love, the punishment was usually directed toward them rather than the co-respondent, and this punishment was often severe in the extreme. Patterns of male suspiciousness and jealousy were rampant: Wives were beaten merely after seeing another man beat his wife; suspicious men even moved from the protection of a camp to the open prairie where they were easy prey to enemy raiding parties, rather than risk their wives in a camp filled with bachelors; young men suspected of complicity were attacked without warning by irate husbands. The reason for this conduct may be partly understood on the basis of affronted authority. As unfaithfulness on the part of a wife threatened the very existence of the domain over which a man had supreme authority and might reduce him to acknowledging authority in another tipi group as an ignominious visitor who could not care for himself, marriage stability was a very personal and vested interest for a male. To protect the household the punishment was extreme, varying from mutilation in order to make her less attractive, to society rape fests that she might be given her fill of sexual experience with other men, to merely shooting her. All this was carried out in a fit of rage under the name of disillusioned love: "I loved her so much, and then she was unfaithful to me." The restorative aspects of these measures must be stressed, for since the wife was usually not sent away, the punishment was intended to make the household more secure. Should the extreme have occurred, murder was always followed by the customary mourning rites that approximated those following natural death. Only when the integrity of the household could be preserved in any

case, as where there was more than one wife, was a woman sent away, for above all the preservation of the household was primary.

Of course, unfaithfulness reflected unfavorably also on the reputation of the woman's family. Thus, a wife's male relative in cases where the woman was at fault cooperated in the attempts at education and sanctioned this severe treatment. In fact, this constituted a bond of interest between a wife's relatives and her husband. During the actual fracas between husband, wife and co-respondent, the person expected to restore equilibrium was the elder brother or father of the co-respondent. He, seeking to reduce the tension between the families, would send horses to the aggrieved husband. No rebuke would be given a son who was co-respondent not only because the woman was theoretically responsible, but, as one informant expressed it, "because the father would think back to the days when he was young and understand how his boy felt."

Generally the strength of the conjugal family varies inversely with the strength of the blood bonds. Curiously, however, Plains individualism to the point of anarchy served to maintain the strength of both. When the irritations of the authority of one's elders became too great, one might establish his own tipi if economically possible. But the instability of the marriage bond often sent one back to renew the relationship with people of one's own blood. At one end the security of a man of accomplishment was in his own tipi of wives and children; at the other extreme, with complete failure of all endeavors, security could be found in the group of his own blood as refuge.

Current Changes in Kinship

With the settling of the Blackfoot on a reservation, three main changes have occurred. The old economy disappeared, and in its place agriculture and herding under white management have been substituted. With this change the nomadic mode of life has been replaced by a semi-sedentary life within the limits of an Indian reserve. The band as the social unit for defensive war, residence and hunting, has disintegrated into its component units, the extended families. Whites have moved into southern Alberta, where they have engulfed the reserve. Though the Blackfoot, because of their status as treaty Indians, live separately from the Whites, the latter influence Blackfoot institutions.

In what ways has the kinship terminology been influenced by these changes? The majority of such changes can be subsumed under an extension of the principle of age-grading with reference to ego and ego's father. While formerly all the women of father's family were termed "grandparent," today father's younger sister becomes ego's "older sister," or "younger sib-

ling." Even in mother's family age-grading shows its effects: Mother's mother's brother is often called "grandparent" today. His age difference with reference to ego makes the former term of address seem inappropriate. The women of mother's family tend to be addressed in terms appropriate to their age, so that the mother's older sister may occasionally be termed "grandparent" rather than mother, if she seems to be considerably older than ego. In the corresponding generations below ego the term "younger sibling" is rather loosely applied on the basis of age. Thus a younger brother and his son may both be called "younger sibling" when the difference in age is not very great. If the age difference is greater, the son of a younger sibling would be called "grandson." Similarly for a male speaker, the children through the female line of sister tend to be called "grandchildren" as soon as the age difference becomes great enough. This is now preferred to addressing them as "younger sibling." In keeping with this change is the disappearance of the term "grandparent" as applied to the female paternal cross-cousin.

This change reflects a social trend on the reservation toward gerontocracy. There exists a definite nostalgia for the buffalo days when the Blackfoot were not a dependent minority. Those who actually experienced hunting and the warpath thereby acquire prestige. In turn those nearer in age to the glorious past share a diminishing portion of this glory. The sons of renowned warriors take pride in knowing in detail the exploits of their fathers. Through the mere change from a nomadic to a sedentary life the authority of the old has also been enhanced. Formerly, limitation of authority was achieved by the universal right of a man to move to the jurisdiction of some other less irritating authority. Though the right is still recognized to-day, freedom of movement from the effects of this authority is more difficult on a reserve. In the recent past a man deserted his wife and children to live with another woman. Bound to the reserve, he faced daily social censure for his acts until he terminated his marginal position by suicide. Moreover, the freedom of action under an authority is smaller, if only because the authority is closer to its object. The band made up of various related kinsmen or clusters of kinsmen has dissolved into extended families. With this change many of the economic and political functions of the band chiefs have devolved upon the head of the extended family, a smaller and more intimate group than the band. Hence, evasion of responsibility is less likely today. In addition certain factors have increased the force of this authority, primarily the increased importance of inheritance. Having adopted white techniques of living and white means of production, with all that house, furnishings, and farm implements imply, the number of objects to be transmitted at death has increased. Indeed, the value of these objects has also increased in view of the ritual required to obtain them in the white economy. Thus,

through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old have increased their power.

This general increase in authority of the aged has not been made without sacrifice in some spheres. Specifically, the final economic and political authority now lies with the agency. However, within the frame of white authority many decisions remain in the hands of the extended family. Among these are the choice of residential site on unoccupied land, caring for the aged beyond the allotted rations of food and clothing, designating among the group of dependents those who shall carry out specific duties, and the management of certain undertakings such as trapping and horse raising. The missionary schools have assumed control over the young children and now sanction, and even try to arrange, the initial marriage of a young man with a girl ready to leave the school. However, the head of an extended family may exert influence after the school years are over and select mates for subsequent marriages of his kinsmen. At the same time the younger, active men are usually in immediate control of farm production, the cattle, and the labor in the agency-operated coal mine. Indeed, there have been many instances of reserve cleavage based on the interests of the young "progressives" as pitted against the old conservatives. However, though the young speak vehemently in meetings against the authority of the old, when the issues call for action, few turn against the venerated authority of the elders.

III. Northern Blackfoot Kinship Terms*

1. *naa'xs^a*, "my grandparent."
   (*a*) Male of father's family or its collateral who is older than father; his wife.
   (*b*) Female (and her husband) of father's family or its collateral who is of father's generation or antecedent generations (note exception under 5*d*, 6*d* and 7*c*).
   (*c*) Mother's father and his sibling; his or her spouse; mother's mother and her female sibling; her spouse.
   (*d*) Sister considerably older than ego (alternative form, cf. 5).
   (*e*) (Male speaker.) Wife's mother; wife's father; wife's father's sibling or his or her spouse; wife's mother's sister or her spouse.
   (*f*) (Female speaker.) Member of husband's family older than husband; his or her spouse.
   (*g*) (Rare with female referent.) Descendant of the female line of father's sister; her husband.
2. *nin.'a*, "my father."
   (*a*) Father; comrade of father, i.e., age mate of father (cf. 16).
   (*b*) Husband of mother's sister.
   (*c*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Husband of a female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's parents' sibling.

* All terms, once defined according to Blackfoot usage, will be so used in defining additional terms.

(*d*) (Married female speaker.) Husband of a female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's father's sibling or mother's mother's sister.

3. *nɪksɪs'ta*, "my mother."
   (*a*) Mother; mother's co-wife; mother's sister.
   (*b*) Wife of father's comrade.
   (*c*) (Married female speaker.) Female of mother's generation who is a descenddant of mother's father's sibling or of mother's mother's sister.
   (*d*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's parents' sibling.
4. *nɪ's^a*, "my older brother."
   (*a*) Male sibling older than ego; mother's sister's son older than ego; father's comrade's son older than ego.
   (*b*) Male of father's family or its collateral younger than father but older than ego.
   (*c*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Male older than ego of mother's family or its collateral except mother's father and his male sibling.
   (*d*) (Married female speaker.) Male older than ego who is a brother to the maternal female line: e.g. mother's brother, mother's mother's brother, etc.
   (*e*) (Married female speaker.) Male older than ego who is a first generation descendant of one of the following: of mother's father or his sibling; of a female in the maternal female line; of a daughter (daughter's daughter, etc.) of mother's father's sibling; of a daughter (daughter's daughter, etc.) of mother's mother's sister.
5. *nɪn'sta*, "my older sister."
   (*a*) Female child older than ego of mother, of mother's sister or of father's comrade.
   (*b*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Female older than ego in ego's generation of mother's family, father's family or their collaterals.
   (*c*) (Married female speaker.) Female older than ego in ego's generation of mother's family or father's family, except descendants of older brother in mother's family.
   (*d*) (Younger people today.) Father's sister younger than father but older than ego.
6. *nɪskən.'^{a}*, "my younger sibling" (male speaker only).
   (*a*) Child younger than ego of mother (cf. 3).
   (*b*) Person younger than ego in father's family or its collateral who is a first generation descendant of ego's senior.
   (*c*) (Younger people today.) Father's sister younger than ego.
7. *nɪsɪs.'^{a}*, "my younger sibling," (female speaker only).
   (*a*) Person younger than ego in father's family or its collateral who is first generation descendant of ego's senior.
   (*b*) Person younger than ego of ego's generation who is a child of ego's mother (cf. 3). (Note: after marriage wife of older brother becomes a daughter-in-law.)
   (*c*) (Younger people today.) Father's sister younger than ego.
   (*d*) (Unmarried female.) Cf. 4*c*, using a male younger than ego as referent.
   (*e*) (Married female.) Cf. 4*d* and *e*, using a male younger than ego as referent.
   (*f*) Child of father's comrade younger than ego.
8. *nuxku'a*, "my son."
   (*a*) (Male speaker.) Son; son of wife's sister; son of comrade.
   (*b*) (Female speaker.) Son; son of sister; son of comrade.

(*c*) (Female speaker.) Younger brother of husband; first generation male descendant of husband's senior, if descendant is younger than husband.

9. *nɪtan.'a*, "my daughter."
   (*a*) (Male speaker.) Daughter; daughter of wife's sister; daughter of comrade.
   (*b*) (Female speaker.) Daughter; daughter of sister; daughter of comrade.
   (*c*) (Female speaker.) Sister of husband younger than husband; first generation female descendant of husband's senior, if descendant is younger than husband.
10. *nɪs.xku'ª*, "my grandson."
   (*a*) Male child of son or daughter.
   (*b*) Male child of younger brother.
   (*c*) (Married female speaker.) Male child of brother in mother's family or its collateral. (Cf. 4*d* and *e*; 7*e*.)
   (*d*) (Male speaker.) Child of wife's younger brother; child of males in wife's mother's family whom wife calls older or younger brother. (Cf. 4*e*; 7*e*.)
11. *nɪs.otan.'ª*, "my granddaughter." Cf. 10, using a female as referent.
12. *nom.'a*, "my husband" (female speaker.)
13. *nɪtxki.'man*, "my wife" (male speaker).
14. *nɪtotoyom.'ª*, "my distant husband" (female speaker).
   (*a*) Husband of sister, if sister married to some one other than ego's husband.
   (*b*) Husband of comrade.
15. *nɪtotɔ'xki.man*, "my distant wife" (male speaker).
   (*a*) Wife's sister, if married to some one other than ego.
   (*b*) Wife of comrade.
16. *nɪtak.'a*, "my comrade."
   (*a*) Related or unrelated male or female of the same age as ego.
   (*b*) (Male speaker.) Husband, if other than ego, of wife's sister.
17. *nɪstamo'*, "my sister's husband" (male speaker).
18. *nɪstamox'kua*, "my wife's brother" (male speaker).
19. *niɪ'mpsª*, "my daughter-in-law."
   (*a*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Wife of younger sibling.
   (*b*) (Married female speaker.) Wife of brother (cf. 3*c*; 4; 7).
   (*c*) Wife of son.
   (*d*) Wife of grandson.
20. *nɪs.ª*, "my son-in-law."
   (*a*) Husband of daughter; of granddaughter.
21. *nɪtax'soku'*, "my in-law."
   (*a*) Parent or kinsman of son's or daughter's spouse.
   (*b*) Parent or kinsman of husband's or wife's sibling.
22. *nɪmuxpapi''ɪxpª*, "my brethren."
   All whom ego calls sibling.

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